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8 January 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 154



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Suzuki Government Warns Against Soviet Threat to Japan
(Chang Lin, Dong Ming; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Oct 80) 1

PARTY AND STATE

- Collective, Not Individual Leadership Emphasized
(Zhang Jingtai; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Nov 80) 4

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

- Jinan Air Force Stresses Political, Ideological Education
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 19-20 Oct 80) 6

Education in Forefront, by Wang Youtu
Ideological Education Stressed

- Experimental Torpedo Retrieved by Fishermen
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 29 Sep 80) 10

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

- Broadening of Opportunities for Higher Education Needed
(Wu Mingyu, Bao Tong; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Oct 80) 11

- Shaanxi Educators Discuss Higher Education Reform
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 5 Sep 80) 17

- Shaanxi Education Bureau Selects Top Scientists for Research Projects
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 10 Sep 80) 21

- Leftist Interpretation of Role of Schools Refuted
(Cheng Youxin; JIAOYU YANJIU, Feb 80) 23

Advantages of Contract Management in Higher Education (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Aug 80; WEN HUI BAO, 23 Aug 80)	34
Proper Allocation of Graduates, by Yang Deguang Training of Qualified Persons, by Miao Jiahua	
Hu Shi's Academic Achievement Reexamined (Ouyang Jian; XUE SHU YUE KAN, 20 May 80)	40
Role of 'Exposure' in Literature Discussed (Bao Zang; GANSU WENYI, 20 Apr 80)	50
Nature of Population Law, Demography Discussed (Wang Shengduo; HANGZHOU DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN), Jun 80)	59

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUZUKI GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST SOVIET THREAT TO JAPAN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 80 p 7

[Article by Chang Lin [7022 2651] and Dong Ming [0392 2494]: "The New Exploitative Moves of the Suzuki Government of Japan"]

[Text] Over 3 months have passed since the Suzuki Cabinet came to power on 17 July 1980. Since then, it has repeatedly reaffirmed its pledge to continue the domestic and foreign policies of the Ohira Cabinet. A review of its 3-month-old political performances indicates that using Ohira's political line as a guide, the Suzuki Cabinet is now ready to take new exploratory steps in the direction of meeting the needs of the domestic and international developments. Among the steps that first command our attention was a press conference statement made by Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki shortly after his cabinet came to power, saying that "preparations are being made to set up a joint security conference to study the problems of how to safeguard the security of Japan from a broader point of view." This statement was later backed up by "a proposal to safeguard the security of Japan for the 1980's" issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, suggesting that the Japanese "defense expenditure be increased to 1 percent of Japan's gross national product" and "Japan send self-defense elements and other personnel to join the UN international peace-keeping operations." A cabinet meeting has also approved the Japan Defense Agency's "special request" to increase its 1981 budget by 9.7 percent, despite Japan's present financial difficulties.

On 5 August, the defense agency issued a white paper warning Japan against the "threat of Soviet submarines" in the wake of a large-scale war game on map simulating a defense strategy against the Soviet attacks. On 18 August, the agency announced a decision to immediately "strengthen the emergency system of combat-readiness" and to arm the reconnaissance planes with air-to-air missiles and patrol warships with torpedoes. On 18 October, Suzuki reaffirmed the "necessity of maintaining a well-measured and highly efficient defense power in order to strengthen the Japan-U.S. mutual defense system and to counter the external threats." The Japan Defense Agency has also decided to bring up to date its defense plan drafted in 1976, with the aim of strengthening the Japanese defense forces to deal with the Soviet threats.

As everyone knows, Japan's strategic proposal to "strengthen its independent defense power" dates back to the early 1970's, or the period of the "first energy crisis." Although the Suzuki Cabinet is only less than 4 months old,

it has displayed unusual courage to tackle what is considered the "most difficult" problem.

Among the well-developed western countries, Japan appears more industrially and technically capable of meeting the "energy crisis" and other major economic problems. In the foreseeable future, it still can lead other nations in economic growth. But any changes in the international political and economic situation are also likely to have direct impact on the economic development of Japan. For this reason, Japan has been very sensitive to the Soviet Union's efforts to constantly strengthen its military posture in the Far East, to step up the construction of military installations in Japan's northern territory, and to win the control of the naval and air bases in Cam Ranh Bay, which threaten the movement of Japan's merchant fleets over the seas. The Soviet Union's blatant invasion of Afghanistan also poses a threat to the oil supply line from the Middle East to Japan, thus placing Japan in grave danger.

Another step that deserves our attention is the problem concerning the revision of the constitution. The Japanese newspapers have noted a basic difference between the Suzuki Cabinet and its predecessors in dealing with this problem. The present constitution of Japan was drafted under the guidance and influence of the allied forces when they occupied Japan after the end of World War II. Although the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) includes in its platform a provision concerning the "revision of the constitution by independent Japan," such a move cannot become effective until it is approved by two-thirds or more of the members of the Diet and by a majority vote in a special national referendum or election called by the Diet. This was why all previous Japanese cabinets were so reluctant to do anything about it. After the Suzuki Cabinet came to power, the current LDP chairman suggested that "we place all problems pertaining to the constitution on the table for discussion and consultation with all other parties out of the government." Minister of Justice Seisuke Okuno has also expressed the hope that "the Japanese people will spontaneously demand the revision of the constitution." On 7 September, in a speech to an LDP study meeting on the revision of the constitution, Suzuki said: "There is no contradiction between the call for the revision of the constitution and the appeal for the observation of it." This statement was regarded by the Japanese mass media as a step in preparing the Japanese public for the possibility of revising the constitution, although Suzuki denied that his cabinet is prepared to do so in the near future.

The focus of the controversy over the revision of the constitution is on its article 9 which provides that "Japan shall not maintain any ground, naval and air forces and other combat elements." Whether the existence of the self-defense forces in Japan is a violation of the article 9 of the constitution, whether they are permitted to join the UN international peace-keeping operations and whether they can be armed with defensive nuclear weapons under the provision of that article are the most frequently asked questions in Japan today. The controversy over the revision of the constitution is essentially an extension of the question of whether the self-defense forces should be strengthened. The "constitution-study council" inaugurated by the LDP in 1972 has been reactivated following 8 years of suspension with a pledge to present to the Diet "a proposal for the revision of the constitution" not later than the next national election. This trend has become clear since the emergence of the LDP as the majority party enjoying "a comfortable margin of vote" in the Diet and since the formation of "a united front" in the

LDP, with the "three conservative groups" (Suzuki, Tanaka and Fukuda factions) as its nuclei.

Public opinion polls have shown a rising popular support for the Suzuki Cabinet during the past 3 months following its formation. Thus far, six pro-Suzuki groups have come into being in the financial field. Suzuki is expected to be nominated candidate for the president of the LDP by its leaders during the election scheduled for November this year. The Japanese public opinions predicted that the "Suzuki characteristic" will gradually become dominant on the Japanese political front, as the Suzuki regime is striving to end the period of transition from a temporary political power to a long-term one, and from the "era of Ohira politics" to that of "Suzuki politics."

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

COLLECTIVE, NOT INDIVIDUAL LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 80 p 5

[Article by Zhang Jingtai (1728 2529 1132): "The Practice 'Let the Secretary Take Command' Must Be Changed"]

[Text] The leadership of the party is a collective leadership, not the leadership of one or two individuals. No one who becomes a member of the party committee, including the secretary, can place themselves above the collective. If an individual in a commanding position places himself above the collective, he will certainly undermine the collective leadership and promote patriarchy. In previous years, we suffered much from this. But now there are still some units where "if the secretary does not nod, no resolution can be adopted; if the secretary does not agree, no resolution can be carried out," and the secretary takes command of all matters and has the final say. In these units, the collective leadership often becomes individual leadership.

The slogan "let the secretary take command," was initiated in the 1950's. It perhaps meant that the secretary should both take command and partake in battle, and that instead of paying mere lip service he should take actual action to solve problems. Yet, during the "Cultural Revolution," because of the over-emphasis on "centralization," the functions of the secretary were pushed to an extreme so that everything had to be commanded by the secretary. As a result, except the "No 1 or No 2 leaders" or the secretary, no one has the authority to solve any problem. The slogan "let the secretary take command" then became "let the secretary have the final say and decide on everything." From the viewpoint of normal inner party relations, the slogan "let the secretary take command" is unscientific. As we know, the relationship between the secretary and the party members is one of equality, not a relationship between the commander and the commanded. In voting on significant problems, the secretary only has one vote and cannot pit one against ten and let a minority rule the majority. The function of the secretary lies in setting examples, taking the lead in implementing party lines and policies, assuring that the party committee works efficiently as if it was a PLA "squad," grasping central work, taking the whole situation into account and planning accordingly, investigating and supervising the implementation of resolutions, keeping all circles well informed, focalizing collective wisdom, developing and enriching collective experience, and improving work efficiency. In short, the secretary's daily work and overall duty in the party committee are to assume leadership, not to monopolize everything and command everything.

The leadership of the party is collective over each specific task. As a result, we have always stressed the coordination of party committee collective leadership with the division of individual responsibility. The matters that are collectively decided must be handled individually. Each must be responsible for his own tasks and must not shift his responsibility to others. The reason why work efficiency in many leadership organizations is not high and there is internal friction is not unrelated to the undemocratic work style on the part of the No 1 and No 2 leaders. For a long time, insofar as there were only the loud voices of these leaders who dictated everything, how could there be any sense of responsibility on the part of other committee members? But, the sense of responsibility of other committee members is indispensable because when they receive the trust of the party they must not stand with folded arms to see the party suffer. To counter patriarchy one must have the courage to control the patriarch. Otherwise, how can the evil feudalism be eliminated? We should also view the undemocratic work style of the No 1 and No 2 leaders in this way: our party's collective leadership and the division of individual responsibility are established on the basis of trusting the masses, relying on the masses and pooling the wisdom of the masses and only then can the leadership of the party be effective. If there is monopoly in state power and only one individual's words count, there will be no initiative among committee members. Would that individual not become an isolated person with no mass support and a leader without a following? Moreover, party work would become stagnant.

Adherence to collective leadership and doing away with individual despotism, it is necessary to correctly handle the dissenting views of the minority within the party committee. Generally speaking, although the views of the majority are generally correct or relatively correct, yet, the truth is not always in the hands of the majority. If the views of the minority truly come from the masses and represent the interests of the masses, even though such views are voiced by a minority within the party committee, yet from the point of view of the masses it is from the majority and thus should be considered as correct. We should believe that a truthful person, when practical experience proves that he is wrong, will be willing to abandon his views. If there are comrades who stubbornly adhere to their own views, we still should not discriminate against or reject them, if only these comrades adhere in action to the resolutions adopted by the majority. We should be united with them and have the patience to wait. This is completely necessary to bringing into full play the party committee's collective leadership.

Today, in carrying out the four modernizations and strengthening the collective leadership of the party, we must not let history repeat itself. The slogan "let the secretary take command" or "let the No 1 or No 2 leader decide" must be changed.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JINAN AIR FORCE STRESSES POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Education in Forefront

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Wang Youtu [3769 0645 0956], director of a Jinan Air Force target range: "Develop a Spirit of Spontaneity and Carry Out Political Education Well"]

[Text] Our target range is located on a piece of wild saline-alkaline soil, with poor transportation and relatively hard living conditions. However, because we have taken charge of our political education conscientiously and mobilized everyone's activism a little further, the cadres and soldiers are united in arduous struggle, and complete their security tasks relatively well each time we hold bombing, firing, or parachute training.

After the breakup of the "gang of four," we to a degree one-sidedly felt that attending political classes and conducting education was just so much big and empty talk, and added to this was the gradual improvement in living conditions on the target range over the past 2 years, with new housing and the installation of television, so that it didn't seem to matter whether we had more or less political education. The result was that ideology loosened up and the company had a continuous outbreak of disorganized and undisciplined incidents of objecting to hardship and fatigue. The cadres also became resentful, saying that soldiers today do not lead well, being both arrogant and finicky. In connection with this reality we studied what Comrade Mao Zedong and the central leaders had to say about political work and realized that criticism of the empty politics of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not mean that there is no need for politics; emphasis on the material foundations and the need to improve material conditions certainly does not mean not talking of the spirit or not talking of political education. From this, we positively took command of the company's political education. We thought ahead of time and prepared ahead of time for what education should be carried out at what time, did not leave anything pending or dependent, did what had to be done when it was necessary, and seized the initiative at all times. In one sense we took the initiative with respect to the assignments from the superiors. The principal content for political education this year is common political knowledge and education in outlook on life. As of the end of August, we had attended seven classes in political theory and seven classes in outlook on life as well. The time allocated was both more and faster than the requirements of the superiors. In a second sense, we took the actual initiative by being closely connected to the thinking of the troops. Although our target range is in a remote location,

still there are countless ties with other parts of the country, and changes in circumstances or policy can quickly set up waves among the troops. We ordinarily pay close attention to the soldiers' reactions and promptly make suggestions to the party branch committee for timely education. Early this year, a small number of comrades became very fastidious about the way they dressed up. We immediately carried on education in "What kind of feeling a revolutionary soldier ought to have, and what kind of aesthetic standards he ought to establish," which received relatively good results. Third was taking the initiative in determining the rules of transformation in the thinking of the troops. During the period of their service, the thinking of cadres and soldiers always goes through a regular pattern of changes. Therefore, we have paid relatively close attention to summarizing and trying to learn this pattern, putting education purposefully in the forefront and taking preventive measures to improve everyone's ability to deal with various kinds of problems. For example, new soldiers are assigned to the target range every year, and all must be given orientation in how to adopt a proper service attitude in accordance with our conditions and settle down in the work of the target range. After a soldier's conscription service period is over, a fair amount of attention is given to the question of love and marriage, and at that time we conduct education in the subordination of personal interests to the interests of the revolution as well as how a revolutionary soldier ought to deal with the question of love and marriage. Because the education is timely and the work is done ahead of time, the soldiers are able to deal with all the problems they encounter.

In political education, we have also paid attention to methods of improving education and raising educational results. During one period, some soldiers were not interested in political studies, and we felt that if everyone did not like to study politics, there would no doubt be a problem of self-knowledge, but the principal responsibility was still on political education for being conducted too mechanically and drably. Therefore, besides making everyone aware of the importance of political study as soon as we discovered this problem, we also racked our brains during our spare time to think of ways to reform the educational methods and raise the quality of education: 1) In connection with reality, discuss one reason for every subject. When teaching a class, we need not necessarily stay in the classroom, but can walk out to see the village or a factory, and can also seize advantageous opportunities, during training, in operations, or at work, to discuss one reason for every subject in connection with reality, taking 8 or 10 minutes and using just a few sentences to increase everyone's knowledge of a question. This kind of teaching always achieves very good results. There is a Xinzhuang production brigade party branch in the area where we are stationed, and it is an advanced unit that has organized all the youths to raise themselves through their own efforts, take part in arduous struggle, and use their two hands to transform the backward aspect of the production brigade and propel it into the ranks of those who are advanced, prosperous, and rising. We then organized all the comrades to go and interview them, and this had a great effect in overcoming the soldiers' fear of fatigue and fear of hardship and establishing thinking aimed at putting down roots and building the target range. 2) Select the instructor according to the lesson content. In the past, our lessons were taught principally by the political instructor, but later we invited military cadres or local cadres to lecture, depending on the content of the lesson, and even asked family members or soldiers and commune members to lecture. In this way, we develop their strong points and are able to attract the interest of the listeners. When we conduct a class in socialism, we invite Comrade Li Xiangxian, the original party secretary of the Aoli production brigade, to lecture.

This old party secretary compares the different results from two high tides, before and after the liberation, and enthusiastically praises the socialist system, providing a moving lesson in socialism for cadres and soldiers. 3) Adopt a method of the masses themselves. The method we commonly use is for the masses to comment, one opinion for each subject, and analyze a typical instance. In March of this year, when we provided security for the live bombing training by a certain regiment, a small local tractor carrying several commune members suddenly entered the target area by mistake, and after guard Zhu Aiwu discovered this, he ran yelling into the target area without regard for his own safety. When those on the tractor heard the cries and left the target area, four airplanes carrying live bombs entered the airspace over the target range and began dive bombing, and young Zhu could only throw himself down on the ground right there, with bombs exploding only a little more than 200 meters away. Afterward, some people praised his sense of responsibility to his work, a manifestation of being ready to act when necessary; others said he was a "simpleton," so how should he be seen, finally? We seized on this incident and organized everyone to discuss it. Everyone said, "When the masses encounter danger and our revolutionary soldiers save them at the risk of their own lives, it is revolutionary heroism, and young Zhu did the right thing!" This made everyone distinguish clearly what was revolutionary heroism and what was acting rashly, or recklessly.

We have learned in practice that it is only necessary for our political work cadres to be careful in everything, be diligent in thinking about things, be adept at mobilizing their intelligence, and our political education will be able to be vivid and vigorous, rich and varied, and capable of carrying out the education in a lively manner and well.

Ideological Education Stressed

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 80 p 1

[Article: "Jinan Air Force Promotes Ideological Education"]

[Text] Jinan Air Force units, proceeding from reality, developed education in a revolutionary outlook on life from top to bottom and achieved good results.

So far this year, the various units of the Air Force in Jinan have conscientiously implemented the spirit of the military-wide political work conference, and have purposefully carried out education in a revolutionary outlook on life with the nature of ideals, prospects, and morals, love and marriage, arduous struggle, joining the party and being proposed as cadre, the relationship between revolutionary benefit and individual benefit, and how to be a good conscriptee as its major content. The principal methods employed were as follows:

1. Party committees on all levels and political organs all took the work seriously and leading cadres directed it personally. According to initial statistics, in a little more than 6 months, more than 100 leading comrades of regimental grade or higher have taken work teams to the basic levels. They have helped the troops to study the ideological circumstances, led the development of education in a revolutionary outlook on life, and solved a great many problems. The party committee and political organ of a certain Air Force division, aiming at a few ideological problems that existed among the troops, promptly proposed some content for the education and worked toward achieving both relaxation and requirements, but mainly relaxation, with the positive advancement of both cadres and soldiers.

2. Keeping a close connection to reality, some carried on education as they would fire an arrow, emphasizing practical results. In the education, all units determined their education according to what problems existed, strengthening the purposefulness of the education and deriving outstanding results. For example, this year all units have universally carried out education in agricultural economic policy to raise everyone's understanding in response to the ideological problem resulting from the cadres' and soldiers' reactions to the system of agricultural production responsibilities. They also made resistance to the influence of bourgeois thinking an important subject of political education, carried out ideological education in resisting corruption and preventing upheaval, drew clear distinctions between the beautiful and the ugly, the good and the bad, glory and disgrace, etc., nurturing a proletarian moral character and noble sentiments.

3. They adopted various measures for the mutual coordination of the universal education and the individual education. For example, they invited local comrades to make reports, allowed advanced exemplars to explain by means of their own experience, carried on social investigations, organized inspection tours, developed frank talks of a mass nature, developed film reviews and book reviews, newspaper reading and discussion, held story meetings, evening entertainments, established wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers, exhibits, and discussions, slide shows, etc., to carry on education in a revolutionary outlook on life for the cadres and soldiers that was lively in form, new and original in content, and strengthened the educational results. Some units organically combined the administration and management of the education in outlook on life, education in current policy, education in common political knowledge, education in the excellent tradition, the three educations movement, party and youth corps education, to consolidate and improve educational results.

To lead the education in a revolutionary outlook on life to penetrate deeply, the Jinan Air Force units called a meeting a few days ago to exchange experience on education in a revolutionary outlook on life and called for realistic strengthening of leadership, comprehensive administration, and carrying this education into every item of work to make the troops' ideological establishment and training in combat readiness even better.

9284

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EXPERIMENTAL TORPEDO RETRIEVED BY FISHERMEN

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 80 p 3

[Article: "Fishing Boats Salvage Test Torpedo"]

[Text] A certain naval unit, together with the party committee of Longxudao Commune, Tongcheng County, and other leading organs, recently held a joint reception at Longxudao Commune to commend and reward fishing boats Lurongyu 3042 and 3043 of the Licun fishing team of that commune for courageously retrieving a military experimental torpedo from the sea, protecting evidence of national defense experimental results.

On the morning of 10 August, fishing boats Lurongyu 3042 and 3043 were returning from fishing when the captain of boat 3043, Yuan Xiangkun [5913 4161 0981], faintly saw something red floating and bobbing on the surface of the sea about 1000 meters from the boat, whereupon he immediately ordered the boat to draw alongside to see clearly what it was. At this time the partner fishing boat, No 3042, came up from behind and everyone looked carefully and discovered a floating object about 60 centimeters in diameter, the upper end shaped like a steel helmet and the lower end extending into the water about 7 or 8 meters. They decided that it could be a very dangerous explosive weapon. The captain of boat No 3042, Communist Party member Yuan Xiangbo [5913 4161 3124], thought: No matter what, we must think of some way to retrieve it, for if this floating object is foreign, it may well provide some intelligence data for the country; if it is ours, we will be protecting national secrets. He quickly mobilized everyone to figure out a method of retrieval on the basis of the floating object's size and weight and dangerous characteristics. Yuan Yuwen [5913 3768 4489] and Yuan Xiangdian [5913 4161 3013] bravely took the lead, one man holding net and hook in his hands, the other tying knots in the rope and securing the floating object. Afterward, the two boats towed the object back to shore.

After more than 2 hours of tense struggle, the boats made more than 50 li and finally brought the floating object safely back to the harbor, then immediately sent someone to report to the Longxudao border defense station. The concerned departments determined that this floating object was an experimental torpedo fired by a certain unit of our navy.

92²⁴
CBO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BROADENING OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION NEEDED

Beijing REDDIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Wu Mingyu [0702 2494 3842] and Bao Tong [7637 1749]: "More On Broadening the Avenues of Education; Desire for a Discussion With Yan Si and Other Comrades"]

[Text] Recently, we have seen reports in the newspapers that many places are broadening the avenues of education. In Shanghai Municipality, 24 schools of higher education have admitted 3,000 day students at their own expense. These students received fairly high marks at the higher grade entrance examination. The average marks of those admitted to the science department of Fudan University were 356.7. The average marks of those admitted to the Shanghai Second Medical College are 355.8. Other schools are also pleased with the results of their successful candidates at examination. The Anhui Provincial People's Government has given its approval for seven institutes of higher learning, including the Chinese University of Science and Technology, to jointly set up a university for day students at their own expense, and has named it the Hefei Joint University. This year this university has enrolled 200 students. In Urumqi Municipality, some schools of higher learning have enrolled more than 200 students who are paying their own expenses. Shaanxi and Jiangxi provinces have enrolled an additional 1,000 day students paying their own expenses. Jiangsu Province has decided to establish a Jingling Vocational University in Nanjing and, at the same time, to set up a secondary vocational day school. In conclusion, the readers are happy to see so many encouraging reports and are impressed that so many persons of ideals and integrity in our educational circles are doing a great deal of very difficult and practical work in training more and better talent.

In the past 2 years, some places have introduced day schools as an experiment, set up branch schools, and restored universities taught by radio, correspondence, and television. This year they have again set up day colleges for students paying their own expenses, vocational colleges, night colleges, and schools of other types. All these things illustrate that the broadening of avenues of higher education is definitely the general trend out of necessity, and that it receives a widespread welcome among the people. These avenues are being increasingly broadened.

However, there are also controversies. Some comrades have alleged that the main task of the institutes of higher learning is to improve the quality of education, and that the broadening of avenues will hinder improvements in education, particularly in the key institutes of higher learning. Some other comrades have argued

that it is untimely to talk about the broadening of avenues of education. They have even claimed that such suggestions will incite trouble and unrest and arouse dissatisfaction against the party and the socialist system on the part of those students who fail the higher grade entrance examination. As there is no consensus of opinion, it seems necessary to carry out further discussions.

Broadening the avenues of education is the trend of popular sentiment.

Whether or not to broaden the avenues of higher education is not to be decided on the basis of anybody's subjective will but by objective necessity and practical possibilities.

In the past 30 years there have been nearly 3 million graduates of institutes of higher learning in our country. This number represents less than 3 percent of the total number of workers and staff members in the country. Throughout the country, a great many factories, mines, enterprises, and production brigades do not have even one qualified engineer or agronomist. The shortage of physicians all the more goes without saying. As regards talented persons in liberal arts, owing to the fact that they were ignored all along, the problem is even more serious. Why has management become the weakest link in China's economic work? Many years ago, institutes of higher education began to slash the number of courses in this field and failed to train large numbers of qualified managerial personnel for the state, which undeniably is one of the reasons. In the past 30 years, schools of higher learning trained only some 10,000 specialized persons in the science of law. At present, we have to strengthen our legal system, formulate various laws, improve the judicial and procuratorial organs at various levels, and establish the institution of lawyers. Then, we have to make contact with foreigners because we have no experts among ourselves.

Our higher education was interrupted over many years, so that there is a general shortage of new specialists on all fronts to fill vacancies left by the old ones. In 1978, 62.5 percent of China's technical personnel were older than 36, while only 37.5 percent were 35 or younger. In many organs of scientific research, the number of qualified junior personnel is only equal to, or even less than, the number of senior and intermediate personnel. This kind of age and personnel makeup is obviously abnormal.

Let us look again at the internal composition of our educational undertakings. Over more than 20 years, the ratio between our college students and middle school students was 1:16 in 1952 and 1:21 in 1965, but it changed to 1:78 in 1978. Accordingly, the proportion of students entering schools of a higher level also dropped to a large extent. The proportion of senior middle school graduates entering colleges was 56.7 percent in 1957, 45.6 percent in 1965, and 3.8 percent in 1979.

We maintain that in our discussion on the policy of promoting higher education, we cannot evade the foregoing facts.

Of course, there were many reasons for the occurrence of this situation. In addition to the sabotage of the "gang of four," there were other reasons. To fundamentally change this kind of situation, just as Comrade Yan Si [1693-1835] has said, one cannot "get the desired results from making a concentrated effort in less than a year." At present, we have no information as to whether or not there are people trying "to make a concentrated effort in less than a year." According to our

understanding, success cannot be achieved in this important matter even within a short period of a few years. The question is whether or not we should start right now to study the issue with enthusiasm and gradually change the situation. Here lies the divergence of views.

How do we look upon the question of quality?

Yan Si and other comrades believe that at present the more serious question is quality, not quantity, and therefore it is most important to turn out tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts.

Of course, in training our students we must pay attention to quality. Their failure would mean a waste of the manpower and material resources of the state. However, why do broadening the avenues of education and enrolling more students have to mean a lowering of the quality of education? In our previous article on broadening the avenues of education, we pointed out that the guarantee for quality is decided mainly by having good teachers, good teaching materials, strict checks on the students, and good work of education management. The method of conducting a school should not be the deciding factor. In various countries of the world, many famous universities are for nonresident students, and they have trained large numbers of highly qualified persons just the same. The proportion of our senior secondary graduates entering colleges is now very small. Only one can be picked out of scores of candidates, and the qualification of students is thus assured. Moreover, these young people suffered greatly from the sabotage of the "gang of four" in education, and they now have a very high enthusiasm for study. In spite of their poor performance in past years, some students are making increasingly greater efforts and show considerable latent capacity for study. In the past 2 years, the students of branch schools in various places have generally done well in study, which is a good proof. Therefore, there is no reason to think that broadening the avenues of education must lower its quality.

Should we have tens of thousands of the world's first-rate scientists? The answer is affirmative. However, from the actual conditions of China's present level of economy, culture, education, and science, it may be seen that this practical task cannot be solved very quickly, and that it requires persistent efforts over a long period before it can be fulfilled. A pressing matter of the moment should be to make our best efforts to solve or alleviate the urgent situation of the unusual shortage of specialized personnel in various fields and at all levels. If we cannot make headway on this issue within 5 to 10 years, our construction of the four modernizations will be seriously affected. Quantitative increase and qualitative improvement are not contradictory. Any talk about quality apart from quantity is like water without its source. It would be also difficult to make sure of quality.

Comrade Yan Si asserts that we must keep firmly in mind the objective of our struggle to train a contingent of thousands to tens of thousands of the world's first-rate specialists. He says that by doing this we will be able to integrate need with possibility, quantity with quality, popularization with improvement, and immediate demand with long-term need. We believe that it is indeed necessary to integrate quantity with quality, and so forth; however, while keeping firmly in mind the objective of training a contingent of the world's first-rate specialists, we must also keep firmly in mind another objective which cannot be ignored, and that is that we must train millions and up to ten millions of qualified specialized

investigation by Shanghai Municipality, its 48 institutes of higher education have 17,300 teachers and only 67,000 students; thus, the ratio of teachers to students is 1:3.9, which is only the average. In a considerable number of institutes of higher learning, the ratio of teachers to students is even lower than 1:3. This situation is considered abnormal not only by the students but also by many teachers. The broad ranks of teachers are very anxious to develop as many additional students as possible. They give their positive support to a reform of the system and structure of higher education by conducting education in many different ways to broaden the avenues of education. As a result, this year many schools are conducting night colleges of various types and are further enlarging the enrollment of day students who pay their own expenses. In Shanghai, Xinjiang, Jiangsu, Shaanxi, Jiangxi, and Anhui, some schools of higher education have a potential. This has been proved by facts.

Some comrades say that the enrollment of day students is the way for colleges, but that it can be done only after the question of dormitories for the students is solved. We cannot understand the causality in this argument. We believe that conducting day schools for local students is a good way to ease the shortage of dormitories for the students. On the contrary, if the matter of dormitories should be solved first, then why do we have to conduct day schools? Indeed, there is the problem of transport facilities. However, if we positively make practical and effective efforts, it will be much easier to deal with the question of transport than with the question of dormitories.

Potentiality is an objective reality. The question is whether people can correctly recognize and use it. We should say that the greatest potential comes from reform. In the past 30 years, our institutes of higher education have had many troubles with their method of conducting schools and with their system and structure of education. If we further emancipate our thinking and make a determination for reform, we can open up new ways to develop our higher education. At present, enrollment of every college student will cost the state more than 1,800 yuan each year. The chief expense is for capital construction, plus funds for equipment and grant-aid students. At some day colleges conducted by the localities for students who pay their own expenses, every student generally costs less than 200 yuan each year. Of course, the other schools cannot possibly cut their expenses down to this level. However, if the institutes of higher education can reform their educational system, boarding-school system, and grant-aid system, it will be certainly possible to cut expenditures.

Our country is still very poor and so all quarters should make careful calculations and strict budgeting, get more done with less money, and stress practical economic results. We should follow this principle in conducting our schools. Poor people cannot act like rich people. Accommodating all students as boarders is not necessarily a good way to operate.

Broadening the avenues of education can promote stability and unity.

Should we broaden the avenues of education? Can we do it? How can we do it? It is very necessary to carry out such discussions. In doing so, we may help people in all circles of society and the broad ranks of young people to see fully that the party and the state are doing everything possible to solve the existing difficulties

personnel. Because, first, without millions and up to tens of millions of qualified specialized personnel, it will be difficult to produce tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts; secondly, even if there are tens of thousands of the world's first-rate experts, it will also be necessary to have millions and up to tens of millions of personnel in specific fields working in coordination so that experts can truly play their roles. Both objectives must be kept firmly in mind; neither one may be cast aside lightly. Otherwise, we will fall into blindness and onesideness, will have no way to properly integrate quantity with quality, and so forth. The experience and lessons of the British people deserve our reference. The number of first-rate British scientists who have won Nobel prizes is next only to that of the United States; it is more than that of West Germany, and many more than that of Japan. However, why cannot Great Britain compete with West Germany and Japan in economy and technology? Why is the status of Great Britain daily declining in international trade? An important cause is that they have overlooked the training of large numbers of technical personnel. Though West Germany and Japan do not have as many Nobel laureates as Great Britain, they have a great many engineers and experts in various lines of trade. On the one hand, [Yan Si] sets training 10,000 - 20,000 of the world's first-rate experts against broadening the avenues of education, and on the other hand he says that by doing this we may integrate quantity with quality, and popularization with improvement. This way of discussion and illustration can hardly convince people.

Do institutes of higher education have any potential?

Some comrades disapprove of broadening the avenues of education; however, they cannot but admit that our institutes of higher learning have too few students and are truly in need of expanding the enrollment of students. However, it is said that it can't be done at present because the conditions do not exist.

Yan Si and other comrades say that education is no different from economy and requires a period of readjustment. We also agree that education requires a period of readjustment. However, we believe that both readjustment and the tapping of potential can be carried out without conflict. Why is special emphasis laid on "tapping potential, innovation, and renovation" in the readjustment of economic work, while we cannot tap the potential in our readjustment of educational undertakings? Why is it that, once tapping potential is mentioned, it appears that we are opposing readjustment?

Some comrades have suggested organizing persons from various quarters for an investigation into the schools to see if there is any potential. This, of course, is very appropriate. We believe that it is really necessary to carry out this work of investigation, to make an inspection in a responsible way, and to find out once and for all whether or not there is any potential, and, if there is, how great it is and how to tap it. As a matter of fact, are not these the facts of broadening the avenues of education which we enumerated in the beginning of this article, our rewards from taking the initiative to investigate and to tap our potential? Some comrades do not like to compare the ratio of teachers to students in our country with that in foreign countries. Well, then, we might as well make a comparison with our own past situation. On the average, there was a teacher for every 7.1 students in 1952, 6.3 students in 1957, 4.9 students in 1965, and 4.3 students in 1979. At present, our institutes of higher education have more than 200,000 teachers. If the number of students under each teacher is increased 10 percent, then over 20,000 more students can be enrolled. According to an

in the field of higher education. Just like carrying out discussions on broadening the avenues of employment, newspapers and magazines in recent months have carried out discussions on broadening the avenues of education, thus greatly strengthening the faith of the masses in the party and the state. Through discussion, we may open our minds, free ourselves from mental shackles, and find out various ways of broadening the avenues of education. Through discussion, the broad ranks of young people may be helped to deal correctly with the problem of going to higher level schools, so that more young people and parents may consciously accept various ways of conducting schools. Through discussion, the concern and support of the whole party and the entire society may also be further aroused towards the cause of education. Naturally, in the course of discussion there will be differences of opinion. This is also a normal phenomenon. The more we discuss, the clearer becomes the truth. Whoever offers a correct suggestion in the discussions, we will accept it.

Some comrades have argued that the discussion on broadening the avenues of education and the newspaper reports that Shanghai institutes of higher education have enrolled day students who pay their own expenses will encourage young people to demand further study in higher level schools, and that since our institutes of higher education can enroll only a limited number of students, this problem will become more acute and will affect the stability of the whole society. Facts have proved that the "disturbances" that emerged in the work of enrollment this year were no more serious than those in past years. There is no ground to say that the stability of the whole society will be affected.

What is difficult for people to understand is why any suggestion of broadening the avenues of education can arouse suspicion that young people who are unable to go to school will be incited to make trouble. If such kind of logic can stand, then won't giving publicity to the "two preparations"—that is, making preparation for going to school and also making preparation for employment—all the more arouse a twofold suspicion that young people will be so incited? By the same token, shouldn't the slogan of broadening the avenues of employment be similarly rejected? Obviously there is no way to make one's statements consistent. As regards those who compare comrades advocating broadening the avenues of education with "Chi Qun (6688 5028) and his ilk" and who draw a false analogy between them, we all the more cannot understand their purpose. We earnestly hope that in the future, Comrade Yan Si will not treat his comrades this way, because this way of doing things will not contribute in the slightest to the discussion and solution of the problem. We welcome criticisms of our point of view. However, in discussion one should take the scientific attitude of presenting the facts and reasoning things out. We hope that this discussion can continue by seeking truth from facts and that still more comrades will participate in this discussion, which has a bearing on the development of our cause of education. Through this discussion, we can pool the wisdom of the masses, explore avenues to reform our higher education undertakings, and help them really make great progress in the 1980's.

9039

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI EDUCATORS DISCUSS HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 80 p 2

[Article: "Ideas on University Education Reform"]

[Text] In the first part of July, the CCP Shaanxi Provincial Committee's Culture and Education Department convened in Xian personages comprising a portion of the world of higher education to discuss the questions of the reform and development of higher education. They discussed the following problems:

Reform the structure, and develop many varieties of higher education.

At present, the structure of our country's institutions of higher education is very unreasonable; the problems of "at one fell swoop" and sweeping uniformity are rather conspicuous; the structure is very difficult to adapt to the many needs of building the four modernizations, and it is not advantageous for raising the quality of education or developing the enterprise of education. People consider that if we want to change this circumstance, first we must develop schools of literature, law, and commerce, in order to speed up the cultivation of managerial talent for administrative and economic work. At present schools of literature, law, and commerce are, proportionately, too small. Concerned departments of Shaanxi Province, having studied the matter, consider that we must create the proper conditions to gradually enlarge the scale of the recruitment of students for the presently-existing schools of literature, law, and commerce; offer economic management courses in our engineering schools, with schools having the proper conditions establishing specialized economic management departments; and organize the schools to take on the task of training cadres at their posts; they can also send teachers to teach classes at the offices and institutions where they work, raising the cultural and scientific level of party political cadres and factory management personnel. Secondly, we must manage our schools in such a way as to have various types of school, so that [the students] can bring into full play the areas in which they are most skilled. Everyone points out that at present in full-time higher schools of engineering, with respect to the various aspects of training goals, the number of years set for study, teaching plans, and the offering of courses, there exists to one degree or another the disadvantage of excessive uniformity. They endorsed the idea of dividing schools of higher education into three types. That is, for schools of science and engineering the first type would be the minority of schools providing a comparatively solid theoretical basis and having a comparatively high level of

teachers, training the various types of theoretical scientific personnel, scientific researchers, and university teachers. This type of school, in addition to doing a good job of teaching undergraduate courses, should gradually enlarge its proportion of graduate students. The second type of school should place most of its emphasis on the application of theory, training engineering and technical personnel who will be engaged in the practical work of design and manufacturing. The third type of school should place most of its emphasis on training in practical technical skills, training mainly people in the area of industrial technology. Everyone considers that with this dividing up into different types of school, one can have a reasonable division of labor in the training targets, students will be able to bring their special aptitudes into full play, bring out their special qualities, and one will be able, in a planned way, to enable all types of talent to have a coordinated development, in order to suit the many needs of developing the national economy. For the educational systems of these several types of schools, one can have 5-year, 4-year, and also 3-year and 2-year systems; a school can also have several systems of undergraduate courses, special training courses, etc. Some comrades say that from the point of view of realizing the four modernizations, in the composition of talent in the theoretical sciences, applied science, and the techniques of industrial technology, it is necessary to place a greater part of our efforts towards raising the proportion of personnel in applied science and industrial technology.

In running our universities, we must effect coordination.

Of the 39 institutions of higher education in Shaanxi at present, 22 are affiliated with the department of culture and education, and 17 are affiliated with the province. This difference in their affiliation has led to a situation in which there is duplication in setting up programs for specialized trades and professions in the various schools, and the use of manpower and material resources is scattered. Everyone cites as an example Xian's College of Metallurgical Construction, which in its construction aspect has a very good foundation, yet owing to the fact that it is under the metallurgy section, its potential cannot fully be brought into play; in addition, the State Building Committee also has to operate separately a Northwest Architectural Engineering College in Xian, and the Ministry of Communication also manages a specialized construction program for industrial and civil use at the Institute of Highway Engineering. In the entire province there are no less than 36 institutions for specialized trades and professions in the mechanical and engineering field. Under these circumstances, how can we arrange things under a unified plan, and bring the advantages at our disposal into full play? Everyone considers that we must put coordination into effect. With an institution of higher education being under the leadership of a single department, other departments can then invest in setting up the faculties or specialized programs they need. At present, the state's head office of goods and materials has set up a department of goods and materials at the Shaanxi College of Finance and Economics, which is affiliated with the main office of the People's Bank. This is a good method requiring little investment and showing quick results. Local areas can also set up, according to need, programs for specialized trades and professions in schools affiliated with the department [of culture and education], or manage branch

schools with a day school system on the school's behalf, providing the appropriate subsidies. Owing to the fact that each province is financially responsible [for the students it enrolls], institutions of higher education affiliated with the province have met with obstacles in recruiting students in other provinces and cities; they consider that schools and programs for specialized trades and professions affiliated with the province that are faced with the problem of recruiting students over a broad area can consult with the relevant provinces and collect a training fee according to the number of students recruited from outside the province. In doing this, it is necessary to afford the schools a certain amount of autonomy.

Open all avenues for study; manage our schools so as to have many different forms of instruction.

Everyone considers that we must open up all avenues for study, and adopt the guiding principle of walking with both our legs at once. This is made necessary by the conditions of our country and population being large, our [technical] foundation poor, and our economy undeveloped; the young people waiting to enter a profession are many, and our workers and staff members' scientific and technical level is low. Along with doing a good job of managing our regular, full-time universities realistically we must also do a good job of television and radio instruction, correspondence education, as well as work/study programs and all types of spare-time education for workers and staff members; the central government, the provinces, and the cities should manage education, and the individual enterprises should also engage in education. In short, we should adopt many forms in developing higher education.

We must actively develop a day school system. Everyone considers that nearly 3 years of experience in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Xian of managing these universities by having them divided into separate schools proves that, in having the cities enroll new day students, both operating expenses and capital construction investment can be cut, and so this method should be encouraged. Concerned departments of society can set up "students' residences" and actively solve the problems of transportation and board in order to create the proper conditions for putting day school programs into effect. We must make a great effort to develop a university of the air consisting of television and radio broadcasts so that, along with enrolling on-the-job staff members and workers in these courses, we can also recruit young people who have graduated from senior middle school and are waiting to enter a profession, enabling them also to receive a university education.

We must raise our teachers' level, and tap their potential.

The comrades taking part in the conference unanimously consider that the decisive factor in raising the quality of teaching is the teachers themselves, and we must strengthen our building of the ranks of teachers, and raise the teachers' level of competence. At present we must train many more teachers for basic level courses, and gradually change the circumstance of the unreasonable composition of the ranks of teachers. We must encourage the various schools to arrange for those teachers whose level of teaching competence is high to teach

some of their courses at other schools. In particular, older, established schools should support new schools whose teaching force is weak. At present, in a great many institutions of higher education first-rank teachers comprise only about half of the total number of teachers, and the latent potential of the teachers is very great. How can we bring this potential into play? Some comrades suggest that we should put into effect a system of distribution of pay according to work done, according to the principle that those who work more will receive more, and put into effect a system of basic pay supplemented by rewards, as follows: those who complete their teaching assignment will draw their basic pay; those who exceed their teaching assignment will be issued a teaching subsidy in addition; and those who fail to complete the basic amount of work assigned to them will be given less pay--thus rewarding the first rank of teachers. In defining completion of the basic teaching work, it is presupposed that income earned from writing or editing books, as well as rewards for the results of scientific research, will be retained by the teachers. As for management cadres, laboratory personnel, and political and ideological assistants, a system of on-station allowances can be put into effect, encouraging the cadres to do a good job of their managerial work, and encouraging the teachers to work in the laboratories. The allowances can be set up in several grades; those at their post will receive an allowance, while those who leave their work stations will have their allowance canceled.

9634

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI EDUCATION BUREAU SELECTS TOP SCIENTISTS FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Shaanxi Provincial Higher Education Bureau Places Importance on Selecting Those Who Are Tops in Their Field"]

[Text] The reporters Yang Zhihan and Zhang Ruixi reported that, in order to raise the level of scientific research and teaching in schools of higher education, the Shaanxi Provincial Higher Education Bureau attaches great importance to the selection of people at the head of their fields to undertake research projects. The first group of 45 top people selected from their research; 37 important scientific research projects were directed or completed by this group, amounting to 34 percent of the important research results achieved by Shaanxi's schools of higher education. Recently, the higher education bureau again selected from the various schools a second group of persons who are leaders in their fields, of which the majority are young and middle-aged teachers.

These top people were selected on the basis of having experience and ability--those having a good theoretical basis, comparatively strong research ability, and rich practical experience, and who are capable of producing important results within a period of 3-5 years. After their selection, the Shaanxi Higher Education Bureau in cooperation with the various schools conscientiously solved the problem of providing the various conditions necessary for their research. At present, for the first group of 45 persons (apart from a minority), those who needed assistants have been provided with them, those whose living quarters were not up to standard have had this matter adjusted, and those who were having difficulties with expenses were allotted money from a special fund. Northwest University's assistant professor Du Wenhui [2629 2429 5706] is engaged in research in analytical chemistry, and is in charge of the work of the analysis center. In order to guarantee the needs of his research, the Shaanxi Provincial Science Committee introduced from abroad a combined color- and mass spectrometer worth 600,000 yuan. Professor Zhao Hongzhang [6392 3163 3864] of the Northwest Agricultural Institute is engaged in the work of breeding varieties of wheat. He needed to construct a greenhouse, so the provincial authorities raised a special fund and built one for him.

The provincial higher education bureau in cooperation with the various schools, on the basis of national and local needs, the special fields taught by the

schools, and the individual researchers' special areas of scientific expertise, assists the leading scientists in clearly determining the direction of their research and the topics for research.

Concerned departments and schools of the province also actively support and arrange for them to participate in international scientific exchange movements and improve themselves by comparing views with distinguished international scientists, raising their level of research capability. Of the first group of 45 top scientists, 13 have taken part in international scientific conferences, or gone abroad to teach, observe and study, engage in advanced studies, and work for short periods.

Over the past year the first group of top scientists, with the assistance of concerned departments, have already achieved many important research results. Our country's famous geologist, Professor Zhang Bosheng [1728 0130 5116] of Northwest University, completed "Wave Formations in the Earth's Crust in China and their Causes and Effects," "Wave-form Mosaic Structure of the Earth's Crust in China," and "An Understanding of the Laws Governing the Movement of the Earth's Crust in the Areas of Tianshan, Qilianshan, and Qinling," articles totaling 150,000 characters further elucidating and enriching his "inlay" theory of geological structure. Professor Zhao Hongzhang [6392 3163 3864], continuing his work with the many varieties of wheat he had cultivated in the past, developed several new varieties of wheat; these new varieties have high yield and good quality, and are already being grown experimentally. Prof Dong Shufen [5516 3219 5358] of the Xian Institute of Medicine completed his research on the treatment of paralysis of the facial nerves associated with cartilage transplant. The article "Topological Elements of Pattern 1" by lecturer Wang Guojun [3769 0948 0193] was our country's first article bringing topological research to the point of effective success in topological pattern theory, and it possessed definite creativity.

9634

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LEFTIST INTERPRETATION OF ROLE OF SCHOOLS REFUTED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [RESEARCH IN EDUCATION] in Chinese No 1, Feb 80 pp 14-20

[Article by Cheng Youxin [2052 2589 0207]: "Are Schools an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship?"]

[Text] To realize their conspiracy to usurp the party and seize power, the "gang of four" in January 1974 pointed the spearhead at our beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai under the pretext of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. In concert with this, they also put forth the slogan "Schools Are an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship." From 31 March to 23 April [1974] the "gang of four's" diehard follower in Liaoning convened a conference on this matter. Immediately after the conference, they published on the entire front page of LIAONING RIBAO, together with a report of the conference, an editorial headlined "Schools Must Be an Instrument of Proletarian Dictatorship." Subsequently, LIAONING RIBAO and LIAONING JIAOYU published one article after another publicizing this slogan. In the winter of that same year, Chi Qun [6688 5028], a trusted follower of the "gang of four," again convened a so-called "Learn from Zhao Hong" conference in Liaoning, launching this slogan throughout the whole country.

What is strange is that after the smashing of the "gang of four," the formulation that "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" is still being expounded and propagated by some educational publications and books as a correct proposition. This creates for people the impression that it is an accurate and scientific formulation. The facts, however, are not so. This formulation is neither accurate nor scientific. It is a formulation long ago abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin. The "gang of four" picked it up again in order to turn schools into an instrument for the promotion of feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" so as to usurp the party and seize power.

I

From the standpoint of Marxist-Leninism, dictatorship is the essence of the state. It is political domination by the ruling class, the implementation of suppressive force over the dominated class. The instruments of dictatorship are different from concepts of dictatorship. Lenin said: "A standing army and police are the major effective instruments of state power."¹ That is to say, the instruments of dictatorship refer to such organs as the military and police that carry out suppression by force.

The dictatorship of the proletariat refers to "political domination by the proletariat";² it refers to "the seizure of power by the proletariat to suppress all resistance by the exploiters."³ Lenin also said: "Although force is indispensable to a dictatorship, it is not simply force but labor organization--a higher form than the previous organization."⁴

Summarizing the basis of Lenin's thought mentioned above, Stalin elaborated on the functions of proletarian dictatorship this way. He said: "...the first function is to suppress the overthrown class within the state.... The second function is to defend the state against external intrusion.... Here there is a third function, the economic organization work and cultural education work of all organs of our state."⁵

When Lenin discussed the characteristics of a state under proletarian dictatorship, he called it a "semi-state."⁶ It is because this state differs from those in the past: first, this is a state with a majority of toilers and a minority of oppressors and exploiters. It also has the function of organizing economic and cultural education work, which is an increasingly important status and increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state."⁷ Moreover, its future course is toward extinction.

Obviously, a semi-state has a very important level of meaning. In other words, only half of the state under a proletarian dictatorship retains the original significance of the state in its suppressive force commonly shared by "political states"⁸ and all dictatorships. The other half, organization and management of the economy and cultural education, is no longer a state in its original sense but increasingly becomes a "nonpolitical state" or a nonstate, a nondictatorship.

From this, we can summarize by saying Lenin and Stalin regarded the functions of proletarian dictatorship as the two functions of suppressive force by the "political state" or semi-state and the function of economic and cultural management by the "nonpolitical state" or nonstate, the nondictatorship.

The two are supplementary to each other; the growth of one causes the decline of the other. Without suppressive force by the semi-state, there will be no safeguard for the conditions of the development of socialist economy and cultural education. Without the management function for the economy and cultural education by the other half of the nonstate, the nondictatorship, the withering away of the semi-state cannot be spurred and communism cannot be achieved. In other words, the historical mission of the period of proletarian dictatorship cannot be completed without one or the other. It is precisely in this sense that the substance of economic and cultural educational construction by the nonstate, nondictatorship half of the state is included in the concept of proletarian dictatorship. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin and Stalin discussed proletarian dictatorship.

To understand this question from a different point of view, one cannot include the construction of socialist economic and cultural education in the concept of the semi-state, but one should include it in the concept of the nonstate, nondictatorship half. In other words, the substance and function of suppressive force in the proletarian semi-state absolutely must not be confused or equated with that of the proletarian, nonstate, nondictatorial half, which is one of economic and cultural education construction. They are two essentially different things.

In his essays "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong elaborated on the substance and functions of proletarian dictatorship from the standpoint of general Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and dictatorship. As a result, he called the first two functions discussed by Stalin—the internal repression of enemy resistance and the safeguard against enemy intrusion by the proletarian dictatorship—the two functions of dictatorship. He did not call the third function discussed by Stalin, that of economic function and cultural educational construction, the third function of dictatorship.⁹ In his two essays, Comrade Mao Zedong treats the function of suppressive force in the "nonpolitical state" as the goal of proletarian dictatorship.¹⁰

To sum up, the use of suppressive force by the bourgeoisie and all exploitative classes belong to the "political state," which is the central substance and essential function of proletarian dictatorship. Only in a specific sense can we treat socialist, economic, and cultural education construction, which increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state," as the substance and function of proletarian dictatorship.

As to what an instrument of proletarian dictatorship is, first we should clearly understand that it is not the same concept as the dictatorship of the proletariat. An instrument of proletarian dictatorship refers to an organ for the organization and implementation of the function of proletarian dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship itself. It must also be understood that only the organ of this political state that has the function of organizing and implementing force by suppression, the organ for the essential function of proletarian dictatorship, can be called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Only in a specific sense can an organ for organizing and implementing economic and cultural educational construction, which increasingly carries the tint of a "nonpolitical state," be called an organ for the function of proletarian dictatorship and not an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

We have sufficient basis for saying this, because in the writings of Marxist-Leninism, it is only the organ for organizing and implementing the "political state," that is, the function of suppressive force, that can be called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Never is an organ that is to carry out the function of organizing socialist, economic, and cultural education work called an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. Comrade Mao Zedong inherited and upheld this Marxist-Leninist point of view. In his essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he said: "The military, police, courts, and other organs are instruments of oppression of one class by another"¹¹ and are the instruments of proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Mao Zedong's formulations above have great theoretical and practical significance. These formulations have severely drawn the boundary between what is proletarian dictatorship and what is not, and between what is an instrument of proletarian dictatorship and what is not. According to the formulations of Comrade Mao Zedong, we are not to confuse an organ of suppressive force with an organ of economic and cultural education construction, nor two essentially different kinds of contradictions. We will neither regard the school as an instrument of proletarian dictatorship nor carry out "the dictatorship of the Proletariat" over teachers, students, staff workers and their various ideological problems.

Proceeding from Lenin's viewpoint on the "semi-state," we further understand the following: Since not every socialist state organ is an instrument of proletarian dictatorship, except for the core portion of the organ of the corresponding "political state" from the standpoint of political law, and since its noncore portion or organ of the "nonpolitical state" is not [such an instrument], then not all parts of the superstructure of socialism can be regarded as instruments of proletarian dictatorship. This is because one part alone, the above-mentioned state organs of military, police, and courts, has the function of suppressive force, thereby making these [organs] instruments of proletarian dictatorship. Other parts, such as literature and art, morality, and philosophy, are merely proletarian ideology, whose function it is to serve proletarian politics and socialist construction by propagating proletarian ideology, morality, and world views rather than suppressing by force. Therefore, they basically cannot be spoken of as instruments of proletarian dictatorship. The most we can say is that they have class character, and that their chief social function is to serve as an instrument of proletarian class struggle in the realm of ideology.

II

Are schools, then, instruments of proletarian dictatorship?

In our opinion, no!

We know that education is the objective existence of a kind of social phenomenon in human society, a kind of practice and activity of mankind. In other words, education is a kind of complex phenomenon that includes materialistic and conscious aspects, not simply certain kinds of conscious phenomena.

It is the specific function of education to nurture a new generation of people in society. This is a common phenomenon that exists in any society. In this sense, education is a lasting category in human society. Marx said: "In order to change the nature of people in general so that it attains the technical ability and skill of particular labor departments, there must be particular education and training."¹²

A society can exist and develop only when its members are able to satisfy the demands of corresponding productive forces and productive relations. Therefore, every society has demands of its new generation in two areas: the possession of mutually adaptive knowledge and ability with existing productive forces, and the possession of mutually adaptive mentality and character with productive relations. Of course, knowledge and ability, mentality and character are interrelated and interact with one another.

Obviously, these two areas of demands can be satisfied only when the new generation develops mentally under normal conditions. In this way, development and training of these three areas form the three major components of education: intellectual, moral, and physical development.

Evidently, so-called education, the essence or special function of education, is when the people of a given society (through educators) carry out goals, plans, and organized development and training on the basis of normal mental growth in order that they may obtain knowledge and ability mutually adaptive with existing

productive forces, as well as mentality and character mutually adaptive with existing productive relations, and become the new persons demanded by that society.

Everyone knows that in a class society, the normal mental growth of the new generation as well as the knowledge and ability mutually adaptive with the level of productive forces which they obtain are without class character. Only political morality, spirit, and character mutually adaptive with productive relations have an extremely strong class character. In other words, among these three areas, only political morality, spirit, and character possess the characteristics of the superstructure; they alone rapidly change as a direct result of changes in the economic foundation. The other two areas do not have the characteristics of the superstructure, because they do not change rapidly following changes in the economic foundation. Rather, they change as a direct result of changes in productive forces and changes in the entire social material cultural conditions which are inevitably determined by productive forces.

This is also the case when viewed from another angle. The law that reflects the course of the normal mental growth of the new generation, as well as educational ideology and the corresponding substance, forms, and methods of teaching of the law that reflects the course of mastering knowledge and training in ability that are mutually adaptive with productive forces—all these basically do not possess class character or the characteristics of the superstructure. They change correspondingly as a direct consequence of changes in the productive forces and conditions in the entire society's material culture (as well as the people's knowledge and ability determined by this), not in direct consequence of changes in the economic foundation. Educational ideology and things that correspond to it possess class character and characteristics of the superstructure only if they reflect the political morality, spirit, and character demanded of the new generation by a particular class interest and a particular class. This is why they change correspondingly in direct consequence to changes in the economic foundation, and not to productive forces.

In this sense, then, education is a category in history; certain of its parts have class character and possess the characteristics of the superstructure.

From the above, it is clear that education is a lasting category in human society and is also a category in history. It has a historical character and certain of its parts have a class character.

Therefore, with regard to education we can only say that it partially possesses certain characteristics of the superstructure. We cannot say that it entirely possesses the characteristics of the superstructure. Hence our conclusion is that, viewed as a whole, education is not the superstructure.

At present, education in political morality, spirit, and character of our socialism has class character. But its class character is manifested in methods to convince, exemplify, and influence the new generation to accept the ideology, morality, and world views of communism. It is not manifested in the method of suppressive force to enable the new generation to accept proletarian ideology, morality, and world views (which of course would be impossible). Thus we can only say that education is a cultural instrument that serves proletarian politics through the propagation of proletarian ideology.

This is all the more true with education as a whole. It serves socialist politics and construction by disseminating scientific and cultural knowledge as well as proletarian ideology; it does not do so by suppressive force.

As an organ of socialist education, schools evidently are a cultural organ that disseminates scientific, cultural knowledge, and proletarian ideology, not an organ of proletarian dictatorship that carries out the function of force by suppression. Consequently, schools basically are nothing like an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

From another standpoint, as we have already discussed in the last section, since literature and art, morality, and philosophy which function in disseminating proletarian ideology, morality, and world views, and which form the organic components of the socialist superstructure, cannot be regarded as instruments of proletarian dictatorship, then this is even less so in the case of schools, which function in disseminating scientific, cultural knowledge and proletarian ideology to the next generation to make them new socialist persons, and which as a whole do not belong to the superstructure.

III

The present question is, how should we treat the formulation that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship," as dealt with in "Articles on National Education in the Ninth Party Program"¹³ in the draft party program of the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), which was revised, checked, and approved by Lenin?

In our opinion, the correct attitude should be: first, we must accept the test of practice; and second, we must place it in the context of the entire theoretical scientific system and understand it completely and correctly.

There are two drafts concerning national education in Volume 29 of the "Collected Works of Lenin."

In the section on politics, "Basic Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship in Russia," in his "Draft Preliminary Program of the Russian Communist Party," Lenin said: "In national education, the tasks that Russian Communists have set for themselves are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began at the time of the October Revolution in 1917, and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the destruction of this kind of domination and for the complete elimination of class distinctions in society. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, the period to prepare the conditions for the complete realization of communism—schools should become not only the transmitters of the general principles of communism but, on the basis of ideology, organization, and education, then should actualize the influence of proletarian dictatorship among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian toiling masses. Their goal is to nurture a generation of people who can ultimately make communism a reality."¹⁵ There is no mention here of how "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

The "Articles on National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) state: "In national education, the tasks that Russian Communists have set for themselves are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began at the time of the October Revolution in 1917, and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the destruction of this kind of domination and for the complete elimination of class distinctions in society. The schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. In other words, not only should they disseminate the general principles of communism but, in the areas of ideology, organization, and education, they should propagate the influence of the proletariat among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the toiling masses in order to thoroughly suppress resistance from exploiters and to realize the communist system."¹⁶ Appearing here are the words "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

Item 12 of the section on politics in "Guiding Principles of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," which was drafted by the committee under Lenin's leadership¹⁷ and passed by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, reads: "In national education, the tasks that the Russian Communist Party has set for itself are to carry out to the end the undertaking that began with the October Revolution in 1917 and to turn the schools from an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the elimination of class distinction in society and for the communist transformation of society. During the period of proletarian dictatorship, the period to prepare the conditions for the complete realization of communism, schools should not only disseminate the general principles of communism but, in the areas of ideology, organization, and education, they should also propagate the influence of the proletariat among the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the toiling masses in order to nurture the next generation which can eventually establish communism."¹⁸ Here, there is no mention of how "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

By comparing the quotations of the three documents above, we can see that the articles on national education in the party program passed by the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) used the overall wording of the "Basic Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship in Russia" in the "Draft Preliminary Program of the Russian Communist Party." Or, we can say that a significant revision was made to the "Articles Concerning National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), as the line "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was deleted.

As for the words used in the "Articles Concerning National Education in the Ninth Party Program" of the draft party program of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks), if we understand them not just literally but in terms of the substance of the entire passage, then their meaning becomes very clear. The meaning of the passage is this: Socialist schools are a cultural organ for the dissemination of the general principles of communism and for influencing the semiproletarian and nonproletarian toiling masses with proletarian ideology; they are not the proletariat's organ of dictatorship by means of suppressive force. Having such a proletarian cultural organ as the schools, with the schools playing their role, is "beneficial to the thorough suppression of the resistance of the exploiters" as well as to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. This does not mean that the school as a

cultural organ is an organ of suppressive force which directly "suppresses resistance from exploiters," not does it mean that the schools themselves are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

Obviously, this article does not demand that schools should have the function of suppression by force or that they should be an organ to carry out such a function. In essence, therefore, this article does not demand that schools become an instrument of proletarian dictatorship. In other words, the formulation in the article that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" contradicts the spirit of the whole passage and does not match its label. Consequently, we must conclude that the formulation is inaccurate and unscientific.

Obviously it is absolutely no coincidence that Lenin and the Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) deleted the formulation that "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship." This is not only completely correct in theory, but politically it has a great foresight. Since the deletion of this formulation was based on scientific knowledge about the function of socialist schools, it eliminated the basis for subsequent use by characters like the "gang of four" to carry out counterrevolutionary destruction.

IV

Why did the "gang of four" become so interested in such a formulation, that had been abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin, and advertise it everywhere?

This is because they needed such an ambiguous formulation. It facilitated their exploitation of loopholes and the selling of their own anti-Leninist goods under Lenin's banner for their feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship."

They stripped the essence of the article and quoted this inaccurate and abandoned formulation out of context, with the aim of distorting the function of socialist schools. They described socialist schools as an instrument of proletarian dictatorship so that they could turn them into a tool for carrying out the function of suppression by force, exercise feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" over the broad masses of teachers, students, and staff workers, and further use them as a counter-revolutionary instrument to usurp the party and seize power.

In other words, the slogan "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was an organic component of the "theory" of the "gang of four's" feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." It was part of their long-planned counterrevolutionary conspiracy to use the schools as an organ of force to carry out feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" and as a counterrevolutionary instrument to usurp the party and seize power.

Not only did the "gang of four" think and talk this way, but they also acted this way. After they put forth this slogan, they immediately clamored to run the university as their (the gang's) political university to "advance, discipline, change," as well as to turn all professions into professions for seizing "capitalist roads." Consequently, characters like Zhang Tiesheng [1728 6993 3932] and Xue Niuza [5641 3662 8342] emerged at that time; illiterates and hoodlums appeared in large numbers. The "gang of four" made use of these followers to inflame and agitate the people,

to seize "capitalist readers" at all levels, and to struggle with "agents" everywhere, thereby creating for our party and motherland a serious political crisis that began in 1975 and culminated in 1976.

Socialist schools are a cultural organ for the dissemination of scientific and cultural knowledge as well as proletarian ideology. In turning them into an organ of dictatorship of suppressive force, the "gang of four" was bound to bring about chaos in the schools; teachers could not teach, and students could not study. The broad masses of youths wasted their time without all-round moral, intellectual, and physical development, and they did not learn the skills to serve the four modernizations of socialism. Some of the youths became immoral, and a minority of them became poisoned, degenerating into ruffians. The broad masses of teachers, students, and staff workers were reduced to prisoners. Our fine and perfect socialist institution of culture and learning became a dark prison of feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." All this created a crisis in education and talent in our country.

These were the evil consequences bred from the outrage and the belittling of the law of education itself after the "gang of four," with their ulterior motives, picked up the formulation abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin.

V

The Eighth Party Congress of the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) convened in March 1919. The moment in which this congress was being prepared and convened was precisely the moment when the imperialist war of intervention and the civil war were tensely going on. At that time, the reactionary Russian Bourgeoisie and some of the counterrevolutionary intellectuals launched all-out resistance against various new areas developed by the soviets, including military, political, economic, and educational areas. Lenin was wounded by an assassin; class struggle became exceedingly intense; and the new Soviet state found itself in a critical situation! It was inevitable that certain individual formulations in the draft party program written within this historical background would bear the heavy brand of the times. The formulation "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" was a distinct manifestation of this. However, as we have discussed earlier, this formulation and the spirit of the entire article are contradictory, so it was deleted by the congress and Lenin.

The Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Government, under the leadership of Lenin and later of Stalin, were unwaveringly faithful to the guiding principles passed by their party congress. In the past decades, we have never seen the formulation "schools should be an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" in the party and government documents of the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of liberation, the general formulation concerning education in our literature on education was that education is a lasting category and also a category in history; it is a social phenomenon related to the superstructure and has class character in a class society. The formulation in the "Directives on Educational Work" in 1958 was that "education must serve proletarian politics." What is noteworthy is that, by that time, the formulation of education being the superstructure had already appeared. After 1962, with the renewed emphasis on class struggle,

there appeared in the literature on educational theories large numbers of incomplete and inaccurate formulations on the essence of education, such as education is an instrument of class struggle and education is the superstructure. Nevertheless, the slogan "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" never appeared in our party documents on education.

It was only in 1974, when the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was on the rampage, that diehard and trusted followers of the "gang of four" once again picked up the formulation abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin. It was under their instigation that this formulation created a stir and ran rampant.

It was precisely under this situation that in our literature on education there appeared materials one article after another propagating this slogan.

What is extremely valuable is that at the time in 1975, Minister of Education Comrade Zhou Rongxin made a daring boycott against and acute criticism of this leftist slogan of the "gang of four." He said: Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have never suggested such a slogan as "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship."

This is an honest historical record of this question during the last half century or so.

Today, after the smashing of the "gang of four," there still continues to appear in some of our literature on education the ultraleftist slogan of a formulation which was long ago abandoned by the Russian Communists (Bolsheviks) and Lenin, which has never been accepted by our party, and which became an ultraleftist slogan in the feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship" promoted by the "gang of four." Is this not worthy of our profound consideration?

Using the mirror of history is extremely beneficial to a correct summation of our experiences and lessons.

In summary, it is evident that theory, practice, history, and reality all sufficiently prove that the formulation "schools are an instrument of proletarian dictatorship" is unscientific and inaccurate. It later became an ultraleftist slogan of the "gang of four" in promoting their feudal, fascist, "total dictatorship." In our opinion, we should therefore abandon and criticize this formulation; in its place education must serve the four modernizations of socialism. This formulation of our party is more accurate in theory, and in practice it has undergone the test of history. This will help us to free ourselves from the "gang of four's" ultraleftist misrepresentations in education and science, correctly understand the essence of education, and perform our work according to the law of education itself. In this way, education can play its great role in serving socialist construction by disseminating proletarian ideology as well as scientific and cultural knowledge, as well as its great role in the work of uniting and educating the broad masses of workers and nurturing the new socialist man. This will have exceedingly great significance as we shift our strategic focus to the construction of the four modernizations of socialism and further develop theory and practice in education and science.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The State and Revolution," p 10.
2. "The State and Revolution," p 24.
3. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 80.
4. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 336.
5. "Problems of Leninism," People's Publishing House, pp 704-705.
6. "The State and Revolution," p 17.
7. "The State and Revolution," p 56.
8. "The State and Revolution," p 56.
9. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413. Vol 5, p 366.
10. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413. Vol 5, p 366.
11. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Combined Volume, p 1413.
12. "On Capital," Vol 1, p 193.
13. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, note 13.
14. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 905, note 221.
15. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 88.
16. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 107.
17. "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 905, note 221.
18. "A Compilation of Resolutions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Part 1, pp 538-539.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ADVANTAGES OF CONTRACT MANAGEMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Proper Allocation of Graduates

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Yang Deguang [2799 1795 1684], Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Higher Education: "Planned Management Should Be Integrated With Contract Management in Institutes of Higher Learning"]

[Text] The system of leadership of our institutes of higher education consists mainly of three types: leadership of the state (through the leadership of the Ministry of Education), leadership of various central vocational departments, and the leadership of local authorities. The practice of planned management can guarantee the steady progress of the undertakings of higher learning and can be advantageous to the establishment of the normal order of education.

However, planned management has its imperfect aspects: 1) The present enrollment plan does not proceed entirely from national requirements and is often determined according to the existing conditions of various schools. This has brought about the following situation: some specialities enrolled too many students who could not be assigned to jobs after graduation, while other specialities had too few students. For instance, many college graduates from the shipbuilding specialty have changed their line of profession by working in factories as welders and electricians. This year, however, eight institutes of higher education in the country still continued to enroll new students for their speciality of shipbuilding, while there is a shortage of students for the specialities of computer software and automation and in such fields as environmental protection, liberal arts, law, and commerce.

2) The departments responsible for various branches of work set up specialities only for their own needs, with the result that some schools cannot bring their potential into play. For instance, when Shanghai Jiaotong University, which was originally a famous polytechnic university, came under the responsibility of a central vocational department, some of the university's specialities which this department did not need, including that of hoist conveyors, could not but be withdrawn, so the university could not make use of its capability. However, the Ministry of Communications was in urgent need of personnel in this field; therefore, the Shanghai Institute of Sea Transportation newly set up a hoist conveyor specialty. If Jiaotong University could enroll students in this field for the ministry, would this not a way to achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results? 3) Many universities have great scientific research capabilities; however, the scientific research tasks

which the responsible departments assigned to them were inadequate, so their personnel and equipment stood idle. 4) At present, some methods of allocating funds and making investments in capital construction do not help to arouse enthusiasm for running schools and do not contribute to competition among the schools. The yearly allocation of funds cannot properly reflect the number of students enrolled by the schools and how well or poorly the schools have been run.

How are we to overcome these shortcomings, fully tap the potential of institutes of higher learning, and bring into play the superiority of these institutes? In our opinion, in addition to improving planned management, we must introduce a supplementary system of contract management. This means that after the planned tasks assigned by the responsible departments are fulfilled, schools may be permitted to make direct contact with various ministries and commissions, provincial and municipal authorities, and all vocational departments, and may sign contracts with them stipulating that the schools will supply them, according to schedule, with various specialized personnel and with the results of scientific research, and other contracted parties will provide the schools with funds, foreign exchange, capital funds, equipment, and other necessary conditions.

Among the many provisions of these contracts, there are the following four general arrangements:

1. Use school laboratories and school-run factories to serve society. Many schools of higher education have modern instruments and equipment and laboratories for scientific research which other organizations or departments may use for a certain period of time, provided this does not interfere with the education and research tasks of the schools. Last year, Shanghai Jiatong University earned 350,000 yuan from serving other units with its laboratory equipment and technology. In Shanghai there are 34 factories run by schools of higher learning which can produce electronic computers such as the DS 130, magnetic discs, cardiac pacemakers, laser scalpels, and some 80 varieties of new products. However, some of these factories are constantly short of production tasks. If they introduce the contract system and accept production tasks from other units (including foreign organizations), then they can bring their superiority into full play. Provinces and municipalities with favorable conditions can even set up laboratory centers of institutes of higher education and joint companies of school-run factories to serve society directly.
2. Urgently train required personnel for other units. For instance, in Shanghai there are five institutes of higher learning with a speciality in metallurgy. At present, Shanghai does not need so many graduates of the metallurgy speciality; however, some provinces and municipalities are short of personnel in this field and are thinking about establishing new institutes of metallurgy. If they give one-third of the funds they would use to build the new schools to the Shanghai institutes of higher education, the latter will train the necessary number of qualified personnel for them.
3. Bring into play the role of institutes of higher learning in the field of scientific research. With better qualified teachers, more comprehensive courses, and complete sets of instruments and equipment, institutes of higher learning have very favorable conditions for doing scientific research. In recent years, Shanghai schools of higher learning have conducted about one-fifth of the research projects of the

entire city, and achieved about one-fifth of the results. However, they still have a very great potential. Therefore, we should encourage and help institutes of higher learning to take positive steps to undertake projects closely related to the national economy and in coordination with their scientific research courses, and sign contracts with the departments and units of scientific research, production, and employment, which will give them assignments, including contracts for scientific research, for the dissemination of results and for the transfer of technology. These contracts should define the technical and financial responsibilities of both parties and stipulate specific plans to be enforced, according to schedule, which both parties should observe and check in fixed periods. In the past, institutes of higher learning did scientific research for units without remuneration, and when they achieved results, all the honor and profits went to the other units. This situation should definitely be changed.

4. Institutes of higher learning can disseminate knowledge. From the situation of Shanghai, it may be seen that many schools of higher education, particularly old universities and key colleges, have a considerable number of teachers. Some teaching and research sections are compelled to arrange several teachers teaching the same subject by turns. With a light burden and under small pressure, the teachers make improvement slowly. When teachers with ordinary qualifications are transferred to ordinary colleges to work, with a heavy burden and under great pressure, they have often achieved results very quickly and become key teachers. Therefore, we should encourage these teachers to go to other schools and units concurrently to teach and work. According to the incomplete statistics of a certain university, 488 teachers of this university (28 percent of the total number of teachers) concurrently gave more than 25,000 hours of outside lectures last year. I suggest that in the future these schools may send out their teaching and technical personnel in an organized and planned manner and sign contracts with units which require their services. Part of their remuneration will go to the schools; the other part to these teachers. In places of flourishing economy and culture, such as Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, the old universities may even organize, according to branches of learning and special subjects, a group of teaching and research personnel to go to universities and research institutes in frontier areas to work for 2 or 3 years. (Their residence registration will not be changed, and they will receive the same wages as before, with a certain sum of allowance in addition.) Doing this not only can help institutes of higher education in frontier areas quickly improve the quality of their teaching and scientific research work but also can tap the potential of old universities in developed areas.

In conclusion, it is entirely necessary, and also entirely possible, to introduce a system of contract management, provided institutes of higher learning can fulfill the planned tasks assigned by the upper levels, and the quality of teaching and scientific research can be guaranteed. In this way we can flexibly run our socialist universities and colleges, widen the path of higher education, and better cope with the requirements of the cause of the four modernizations.

Training of Qualified Persons

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 23 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Miao Jiahua [4924 1367 5478]: "The Contract System Can Also Be Adopted For the Training of Qualified Personnel"]

[Text] At present, we are using unified methods generally for the enrollment of college students and for their allocation to jobs upon their graduation from

colleges. When the training and allocation of talented persons are included in the planning of the national economy and are placed under state planned management, there are many advantages. However, owing to difficulties in practical work and certain imperfections in certain specific systems, there are also some shortcomings, such as the following:

1. Dislocation between the enrollment and the allocation of students. The specific plan for the enrollment of students is laid down by the educational departments, but the allocation of graduates is controlled by the planning and personnel departments. When the plan of enrollment is being formulated, since various vocational departments cannot yet make an accurate estimate of the various categories of personnel required in the next few years, the planning departments can only roughly fix a total number of people, while all the institutes of higher education will fix the number of students to be enrolled for their specific specialities according to the actual accommodations which their specialities can give. This process is therefore somewhat deprived of reason and judgment. When the time comes to allocate college graduates, it emerges that there is more demand than supply of specialized personnel, and the number of graduates cannot meet the requirements; however, the supply of some specialized talent exceeds the demand, and the graduates cannot be placed. In 1979, universities and colleges in Shanghai graduated persons in a total of 185 specialities; however, the allocation of those graduates of 25 specialities, constituting 13.5 percent, met with difficulties, and some of them could not get employment for 3 consecutive years. As society required only a very few of some specialized talents, 85 percent of the graduates were compelled to change their lines of profession. This was a very great waste, and it also caused the frustration of enthusiasm of the schools, teachers, and students.

2. As institutes of higher learning are under the jurisdiction of different departments, the channels of allocation of their graduates are not freely open. At present, institutes of higher education are under the jurisdiction separately of either the central authorities or the local authorities; some are under educational departments and others under economic departments. Those under economic departments consider the training and allocation of personnel only within the scope of their own departments and have no cross-contact with other departments. Schools under local authorities also consider the training and allocation of personnel within the scope of their own localities, and they have no cross-contact with other localities. The Shanghai Second Medical College is under local control; its specialities of stomatology and pediatrics have a fairly good foundation and are among the best in the country. The department of stomatology can train 100 students each year, but Shanghai needs only 40 of them. The school cannot give full play to its superiority, while other places need such specialized personnel but have no institutes to train them.

3. There are some irrational aspects to the allocation of graduates. The units which receive the graduates—that is, the employers—do not bear any economic responsibility to the state, and take the personnel without compensation. This easily brings about the situation that when they want graduates, the more the better, but they will not cherish them in employment. Furthermore, according to regulations, college graduates can only be listed as state cadres and cannot become technical workers, so that some production posts which require higher special technology do not have the necessary personnel to take over. These regulations conceal the true situation of the demand for qualified personnel in society. Consequently, the

training and employment of personnel are isolated from the objective requirements of economic development. On the one hand, we recognize the value of talented persons and feel their shortage, and we want to train qualified personnel with great effort; on the other hand, there is a waste of talented persons who are employed to do what they have not learned. This is not advantageous to the development of higher education.

At present, we have integrated planned regulation with market regulation in industrial production, and we are striving to change the dislocation between production and marketing. There is also a need for reform in the schools for the training of talent. Under the present situation, it seems possible to introduce a contract system simultaneously with the practice of unified enrollment and allocation of talent, and to permit institutes of higher education to sign contracts with some employing units for the training of qualified personnel, as a supplement to the state plans.

The contract system calls for a clear definition as to the respective rights and obligations of the schools and the employing units, binding on both contracting parties. An employing unit may present its specific demands according to its requirements for the training of personnel, and it may reject those who are not qualified, to be "recycled" by the school. At the same time, it should also be stipulated that employing units must bear a part of the expense for the training of talented persons. As for the schools, they should fulfill the training tasks according to schedule, with a guarantee of quality and quantity, while they charge a part of the expense as school funds to be used to buy additional school equipment and improve the livelihood of teachers and staff members. As for the source of students, the schools may report to their responsible departments the additional number of students to be enrolled under contract for approval, as part of the unified enrollment. Also, they may recruit students directly from society, telling them first where they will be sent upon graduation.

The introduction of the contract system will change the situation of the "dislocation between production and marketing," so that the schools can train talented persons according to the needs of society. It can further arouse the enthusiasm of the schools for carrying out the work of education, tap fully the potential of their teachers and equipment, readjust the installation and scope of their specialities, bring their superiority into play, conduct their operation more flexibly, and thus turn out more specialized talents "marketable and in demand" for society. As far as society is concerned, the contract system can also expand cross-contacts between schools and the departments and localities, open new channels from the training of talented persons to the allocation of graduates, break through the restriction of a certain department or a certain locality, and help all departments and localities procure urgently required personnel without making a fresh start and by spending less money. Moreover, as the training of these specialized personnel proceeds truly from actual needs, and the employing units bear the economic expenses and are not going to get their personnel free of charge, they will utilize them with much greater care and will not make them do what they have not learned. As far as the government is concerned, with the adoption of the contract system, it will not be necessary to increase the investment in funds or to bear any responsibility for arranging employment for the graduates. The government can only use existing conditions to tap the potential of the institutes of higher education, develop the cause

of higher learning, and help society procure a number of urgently required talents. It will lighten the pressure from various departments and localities, and from all lines of trade, to ask the government for personnel.

The key to the introduction of the contract system for training talented persons lies in the necessity of giving institutes of higher education some rights of decisionmaking, so that when they are negotiating with the employing units, they can truly become a party with authority to deal with them. Otherwise, it will be difficult to sign any contracts.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HU SHI'S ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT REEXAMINED

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[Article by Guyang Jian [2962 7122 0256]: "Reevaluate Hu Shi's Textual Research on 'Water Margin'"]]

[Text] As a person, Hu Shi deserves a negative rating. It is because politically he ingratiated himself with the imperialist Kuomintang reactionaries and sided with the enemy of the people. As a researcher, however, he may merit a reappraisal. In fact, he was once in the mainstream of historical development. He was said to "offer more fresh insights than his predecessors" in his research paper on the book "Water Margin" and "to have done a lot in promoting the right academic attitude toward this book." We must be objective in evaluating Hu Shi's achievement, giving him credit where credit is due and taking issue with him where he was wrong. Our opinion of him as a person must not affect our opinion of him as a researcher. Such objectiveness is necessary if we are to promote academic studies.

The following article is an attempt to reevaluate Hu Shi's research work on "Water Margin" from different angles. Comments and criticism from academic circles are invited.

1 On 27 July 1920, Hu Shi said in his article "The Background of 'Water Margin'": "'Water Margin' is a masterpiece. It deserves a more exalted place in the history of Chinese literature than 'Zuo's Annals' and 'The Book of History.' We need someone like Yen Joqu to write a researcher's guide to this book. We need someone like Wang Niensun to write a concordance. I am not qualified to undertake an important task such as this and will have to leave it to future scholars. What I am trying to do here is to show our 'Water Margin' scholars a new approach and a new perspective.

Even in a self-effacing statement like this, Hu Shi could not hide his strong self-confidence. He called the research on "Water Margin" an important task and claimed that he was showing "Water Margin" scholars a new approach and a new perspective. He was typical of the thinkers among the newly emerged bourgeoisie hoping to breathe new life into the studies of classical literature.

Since its publication, "Water Margin" has achieved tremendous popularity with the reading public because of its presentation of the human society in its breadth and depth, its colorful characterization, and its moving depiction of strong

human emotions. It has also drawn sharp and conflicting responses from different classes of society. For example, the champions of feudal law and order sharply criticized and vehemently denounced the book as "glamorizing robbers" because of its handling of a controversial subject matter. The supporters of the book, on the other hand, asserted that the story glorified personal loyalty and brotherly love. The dispute between these two schools of scholars over the centuries sidetracked the real issue of how good the book is as a novel and undermined serious studies into its artistic qualities. In the 700 years between the beginning of the South Sung Dynasty and the May 4 Movement, a large number of notes, prefaces, epilogues and annotations were written about "Water Margin" but they were too fragmentary to warrant systematic study. This was because their authors, like all feudal men of letters, were too much concerned with trivialities. They dug up unrelated facts here and there. They recorded some legends and anecdotes. They left the real academic issues untouched. Actually, "Water Margin" was written long before "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and to a certain degree influenced the latter book. Yet "The Dream of the Red Chamber" was to become a subject of serious study and exhaustive research, while "Water Margin" inspired no such endeavor. It is quite a pity.

If Hu Shi was not the only scholar who embarked on the new pursuit of treating the study of "Water Margin" as a branch of science and applying the scientific method to such a study, he was certainly one of the pioneers taking this new path. His preoccupation with "Water Margin" did not come by accident. He was "the vanguard first to hold up high the banner" (words of Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423]) of the May 4 Movement to promote the vernacular style of writing. He said, "We need a new style of writing in which we can express new ideas and describe new things." (Preface to "A Collection of Articles Arguing in Favor of the Introduction of a New Literary Style" by Hu Shi) In order to break away from the classical style of writing "that shackled our mental faculty," he also declared boldly: "Vernacular literature has been the mainstream of Chinese literature and is the wave of the future. This much is certain." ("On Poetry Written in the Vernacular" by Hu Shi) So predictably such classical novels written in the vernacular as "Water Margin" and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" were placed on a pedestal as Chinese literary masterpieces during the May 4 Movement promoting a new style of writing. On 17 July 1920, the "Foreword to 'Water Margin'" written by Chen Duxiu and "The Pedigree of 'Water Margin'" by Hu Shi were included in the newly punctuated 70-chapter "Water Margin" published by Wang Yuanfang. Lu Xun also made some new observations about "Water Margin" when he lectured on "A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" at Peking University in December 1920, and when he lectured on "Historical Changes in Chinese Fiction" in Xian City in July 1924. They all had similar views on this book. In a 9-year period, Hu Shi wrote "The Pedigree of 'Water Margin,'" "More on 'Water Margin,'" "The Pedigree of 'Zhi Yu,'" "A Preamble to 'Water Margin Two'" and "A Foreword to the 120-chapter 'The Loyal and Righteous People at Water Margin.'" These articles totaled 70,000 words in length. On major issues, Hu Shi agreed with Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun and other prominent figures of the May 4 Movement to promote a new style of writing. On certain specific points, Hu Shi offered some fresh ideas entirely his own.

Hu Shi's research paper on "Water Margin" began with a criticism of the views of Jin Shengtan, a writer of feudal times. Jin Shengtan lived at the turn of the Ming and Ching Dynasties and was an epoch-making man among the "Water Margin" researchers. He was at once a fan of "Water Margin" with a true appreciation of its literary and artistic excellence and a typical bigot of the feudal landlord class guilty of perpetuating a misunderstanding of its intentions and moral. Hu Shi smartly took Jin Shengtan to task for his contradictory views. His clear thinking and sound

reasoning proved that he, as a bourgeois thinker who climbed on the stage of history to play a new role, had a better perspective and a better overview than the feudal writers who had predated him. He pointed out: "Jin Shengtan was an extraordinary genius of the 17th century. He was indeed very courageous, by the standard of his times, to declare that 'Water Margin' is equal to 'The Book of History' and 'Guoce' in literary excellence and that Shi Nai-an and Dong Jieyuan as writers belonged to the same class as Zhuangzhou, Qu Yuan, Sima Qian and Du Pu. He even said: 'There is no writer with a better knowledge of the world than Shi Nai-an under the sun.' What a taste! What courage! Also in his preface to 'Water Margin,' Jin Shengtan declared: 'Some ancient writers had talents that were not to be found again in later years and that were unmatched by men of later ages. For example, Zhuangzhou had talents all his own. Qu Yuan had talents all his own. In later centuries, Shi Nai-an was to develop certain unique qualities. Dong Jieyuan was to develop talents unlike anybody else's.' Such good taste was rare among ancient critics." Unfortunately, Jin Shengtan's good taste was confined to the appreciation of the talents of writers. When it came to the appreciation of the writing itself, his taste was not so good any more. Hu Shi pointed out: "Jin Shengtan did what 'book editors' of his time did all the time. He made a running commentary on every word and every phrase in 'Water Margin,' thus fragmenting the book and turning the book into a 17th century textbook of vernacular writing with comments and notes both on the margin of every page and between the lines." He went on to say: "This kind of mechanical commentation and notation perpetrated by the pedants does not help the reader at all. It in fact has a harmful effect because it puts pedantic ideas about literature into the reader." Hu Shi's criticism was right to the point and very convincing.

Hu Shi's criticism was not confined to Jin Shengtan's concept of literature. He was critical of Jin's concept of history as well. He quoted Jin's words: "This voluminous work consisting of 70 chapters tells the story of 108 people. The story begins with an episode involving Gao Qiu. If the story had gone right on to the 108 people without mentioning Gao Qiu, it would leave the impression that disorder starts from the bottom. If the story had mentioned Gao Qiu without going on to the 108 people, it would leave the impression that disorder starts from the top." "Why can the story of 108 people be considered a historical novel? For a long time the grumbling of the ordinary people has made history. Why do the ordinary people dare to grumble? Normally they dare not. Why do they still grumble when they dare not to? When reason prevails in the world, people do not grumble. Now ordinary people are grumbling." Hu Shi agreed with Jin Shengtan for his democratic concept of history. But when Jin Shengtan started to compare "Water Margin" with Confucius' "Spring and Autumn" in its attempt to look to the past for moral guidance and started to spew out one pedantic idea after another, Hu Shi was quick to voice his disapproval. He incisively pointed out: "Such far-fetched theories hamper literary appreciation."

It is clear that by assailing the pedantry of Jin Shengtan, the most respected critic of "Water Margin" in feudal times, and applying social scientific methods of the bourgeoisie, Hu Shi achieved a better appreciation of the literary qualities and a better understanding of the philosophy of "Water Margin." He indeed showed future "Water Margin" researchers a new approach and a new perspective and in this regard he out-accomplished all previous critics.

2 First of all, Hu Shi deserves credit for advocating, in his research paper on "Water Margin," that the novel should be evaluated from a historical perspective. This is a good criterion for evaluation. He said: "'Water Margin' did not fall from the sky. It was the cream of the many different versions of 'The Story of the Water-Surrounded Liang Mountain' that circulated in the 400 years from the first year of the South Sung Dynasty (the first year of the 12th century) to the middle years of the Ming Dynasty (the last years of the 15th century)." This was a correct assessment, even though Hu Shi made a number of highly disputable points in some specific areas.

Hu Shi not only took a close look at the historical process during which "Water Margin" took shape, he also carefully examined the social conditions of the various periods covered in the process. For example, when explaining the reason for the rise and wide circulation of the "Story of Song Jiang" among the common people before the Yuan Dynasty, Hu Shi pointed out the following: "(1) There was enough action and glamor in the lives of Song Jiang and his men to make the circulation of their story easy: (2) As the South Sung Dynasty lost control of the northern part of China to non-Chinese, hero worship became a strong sentiment among the Chinese: (3) The government of the South Sung Dynasty was corrupt. The brutal rule of the vicious officials caused resentment among the people. It further added to the pains of the Chinese living in the north under foreign rule. Therefore, the people both in northern and in southern China shared a common hatred toward bad government and bad officials. This hatred also gave rise to a perverted admiration for robber-heroes." Hu Shi was right. Lu Xun also said the same thing: "The Sung Dynasty suffered from foreign invasions from the outside and from a weak administration from the inside. So naturally people turned their thoughts to stories of robber-heroes." So Lu Xun and Hu Shi were in agreement on this point. Basing his critical review of "Water Margin" on his concept that "literature follows a process of historical evolution" and that "different historical conditions give up to different types of literature in different times," Hu Shi achieved a better appreciation of the philosophy of "Water Margin" than his predecessors. Hu Shi pointed out: "For 400 years, the story of 'Water Margin' provided the common people and the writers a forum with which to vent their pent-up anger. For example, the people of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties vented their pent-up anger by describing a bandits lair as an organization to administer justice. The people of the early Ming Dynasty vented their pent-up anger by adding an episode to describe how Song Jiang and his men fell victim to a government frame-up and were killed after they had helped the government wipe out four bandit groups. The people of the middle years of the Ming Dynasty, the likes of Shi Nai-an, vented their pent-up anger by dropping the episode of the rehabilitation of Song Jiang and his men by the government, turning the novel into an expression of anti-government sentiments."

At one time Hu Shi came under fire for calling the heroes on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain "bandits" and insulting peasant uprisings. Such criticism is debatable. In fact, Hu Shi was not the only one using the word "bandits." Lu Xun also said that Song Jiang "was indeed a bandit." Lu Xun continued; "The bandits were fighting the government troopers on the one hand, holding them at bay, and looting the people on the other hand, thus becoming a menace to the public." Lu Xun even went as far as quoting Hu Shi, "Jin Shengtan was born at a time when bandits and robbers were on the rampage in the country. He saw the destruction wrought by bandit groups led by Zhang Xienzhong and Li Zhicheng and concluded that bandits deserve no praise at all

but deserve only universal condemnation," and said, "it was well put." (see "A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" by Lu Xun) Secondly, judging by the contents of "Water Margin," the novel, while basing its plot on the legendary Song Jiang and the peasant uprising led by him, was not intended as a story about a peasant uprising for one reason or another. Therefore, it is not untruthful to call Song Jiang and his men "bandits." More importantly, Hu Shi did not show any hostility toward the "bandits." In criticizing Jin Shengtan, he said: "Jin Shengtan wrote a preface to 'Water Margin' in the 14th year of the rule of Emperor Chong Zhen. That was when bandits were on the rampage in the country. Therefore Jin Shengtan sought to prove in his review that the intention of 'Water Margin' was to build up Song Jiang to be a detestable figure so that everybody who reads about him will hate him. Unfortunately, 'Water Margin' lends a lovability and respectability to the bandits. Thus it was very difficult for Jin Shengtan to prove that 'Water Margin' tried to make out Lu Zhisheng, Wu Song, Lin Chong and their likes to be detestable. So the only thing Jin Shengtan could say was 'Water Margin' merely singled out Song Jiang as a hateful person. The intention was to attach a stigma to Song Jiang as the head of the bandit group. The others I can forgive." Jin Shengtan said it tongue-in-cheek. He not only forgave the others, but he also admired them. Because he soon contradicted himself by concluding that 'From cover to cover this 70-chapter 'Water Margin' has nothing but praise for the bandits and nothing but condemnation for the government. Anyone who reads the novel will reach this same conclusion.'" Hu Shi not only untangled "Water Margin" from the dispute between one school of feudal writers who condemned the novel as "indulging the bandits" and another school who praised it for "glorifying loyalty and justice" but also set right some of the unrealistic overpraises for the novel. For example, Liang Zichao said "Water Margin" "promoted independence, self-reliance and democracy and described the budding of human rights." ("Random Comments on Fiction" by Liang Zichao) Huang Ren also said: "'Water Margin' preaches pure socialism." ("Humble Opinions on Fiction" by Huang Ren) These men overpraised the book in disregard of historical facts. Hu Shi's comments, in comparison, were more appropriate and factual. Hu Shi had a better appreciation of what "Water Margin" was trying to say than all his contemporaries. For example, Chen Duxiu said in his short 300-word "A Re-evaluation of 'Water Margin,'" "The philosophy of 'Water Margin' can be summed up in a song found in the novel: 'The red sun is burning like fire, scorching half of the wheat and corn crops in the field. While the farmers are as worried as if their hearts were being cooked, the rich and the powerful men are leisurely fanning themselves to keep cool.' That is the moral theme of 'Water Margin.' There is nothing more to it than that." It is true that this song sung by Bai Sheng describes social injustice, but to say that it covers the entire philosophy of "Water Margin" is oversimplification. Lu Xun showed more depth of thought when he said that the characters in "Water Margin" are "anti-government," but he did not live long enough to write a treatise on the book. This makes Hu Shi's research paper on "Water Margin" all the more important.

3 Secondly, Hu Shi deserves credit for being the first person to apply modern standards in the evaluation of the literary qualities of "Water Margin," thus shining up the long tarnished literary image of the novel for the first time.

"Chinese fiction has never been given a place in history." Chinese fiction has always enjoyed low esteem. The literary value of fiction has never been fully recognized. Since its debut, not many people thought much of "Water Margin" as

serious literature. Jin Shengtan was one of the few who appreciated its literary excellence. He said: "'Water Margin' writes about 108 people, each having a distinctive personality. Other novels could write about a thousand people, but all of them would fall into one stereotype." So at least Jin Shengtan realized that characterization is an important quality. However, Jin Shengtan was basically a stylist. His main concern was still the "style," the "grammar," and the "diction" of "Water Margin." As a literary critic, Hu Shi outshone Jin Shengtan. He used literary standards imported from the West and made an "organic" and comprehensive analysis of the literary qualities of "Water Margin" like a professional critic. Thus he reached a number of conclusions that are highly praiseworthy.

Firstly, Hu Shi pointed out: "The central figures of 'Water Margin' are Lu Zhisheng, Lin Chong, Wu Song, Song Jiang, Li Lu, and Shi Xiu, and one or two more characters." He also reminded the reading public: "We must know that Lu Jun-i, Hu Yen-bao and Guan Sheng are not the central figures of 'Water Margin.'" He thus broke away from the formalism created by critics of the old school who would rate the importance of the characters in "Water Margin" according to their pecking order and declared in unequivocal terms that the central figures are the heart and soul of a literary work.

Secondly, Hu Shi made fastidious analysis of the aesthetic qualities of "Water Margin" part by part and made comments in good taste. For example, he highly extolled the literary excellence of the first half of "Water Margin" without any overexaggeration. He pointed out: "'Water Margin' told the story of Lin Chong in great detail. The episode on the hiding of Lin Chong from his pursuers in a temple dedicated to the mountain god during a snowstorm is a beautifully written, moving episode." He went on to say: "The chapter on 'birth signs' is one of the threads that run through the story of 'Water Margin'.....'Water Margin' builds on this old sketch, adds various details and features, and presents a very interesting picture." He also said: "'Water Margin' lends fresh creativity and imagination to the legend of Wu Song. It tells of how Wu Song beat a tiger to death, how he killed his sister-in-law, how he hurried to Mengzhou Province to beat up Jiang Menshen, and how he escaped to Yuanyang House and then Wusong Mountain. The saga of Wu Song makes some of the most exciting reading in 'Water Margin.'" He also pointed out: "The long episode about Jiangzhou gives flesh and blood to Li Lu as a man of strong temperament and personality and to Song Jiang as a man of great ambitions and high aspirations. Without this episode, Song Jiang would be just a 'name' only." These are words of praise expressed by Hu Shi for some of the praiseworthy highlights in the 70-chapter "Water Margin." On the other hand, Hu Shi also pointed out that there were also some "ill-conceived episodes" and some "unpolished," "redundant," and "hastily added" passages. He said: "The most obvious slip is the long episode about Lu Jun-i. It is a stupid episode that tells how Lu Jun-i, for no reason at all, decided to leave the enjoyment of comforts at home behind to join the outlaws on the mountain. It also tells how he trusted Li Gu and suspected Yen Ching, and how he took the advice of a fortune-teller and went to burn incense at a temple for luck. Such conduct is the conduct of an old fool. It does not become a heroic character like Lu Jun-i." Hu Shi also said: "According to the book 'Anecdotes From the Years of the Rule of Emperor Xuan Ho,' Lu Jun-i was the second from the last of the leaders on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain. 'Water Margin' does not mention this man in its earlier chapters. Toward the end the book still does not know what to do with him, so it gives him the credit of capturing Shi Wengun." Hu Shi's comments were appropriate and to the point. He had a very low opinion of the second half of "Water Margin," but he pointed out:

"There are several moving passages: the death of Lu Zhisheng, the desertion of Yen Ching, the death of Song Jiang, the burning of Emperor Hui Zhong. They are quite well-written." Hu Shi resisted the tendency of making sweeping statements, good or bad, about the book. He only gave credit where credit is due.

In addition, Hu Shi also evaluated the two rewritten episodes concerning Tien Hu and Wong Ching in the later edition of the 120-chapter "Water Margin" from the viewpoint of a literary critic, and expressed his well-pondered opinions as follows: "The story of Wong Ching is almost identical with the story of Wong Qing. I dare say that the man who put together the 100-chapter 'Water Margin' (Shi Nai-an) lifted out the story of Wong Ching, rewrote it, and made it the opening chapter of 'Water Margin,' editing some of the irrelevant details out of the story." Hu Shi also said: "Wong Ching was a good man. One could make him one of the sworn brothers on the water-surrounded Liang Mountain. One could also put him in the character of Wong Qing in the opening chapter who refused to go up to Liang Mountain. One could even make him one of the leaders with the same rank as Song Jiang." Hu Shi offered the opinion that the rewriting of the story of Wong Ching for the 120-chapter edition of "Water Margin" removed some inconsistency from the book, gave the plot a better coordination, and added more interesting details to the story. Hu Shi's power of reasoning and persuasiveness are evident here. His studies on the rewriting of the story of Wong Ching seem to add to the academic value of his research on "Water Margin."

4 Thirdly, Hu Shi deserves credit for showing "Water Margin" scholars a clear-cut scientific approach. Namely, he urged "the reader to read 'Water Margin' as it is." He said: "The new edition of 'Water Margin' leaves out all the notes and comments on the margins of each page and between the lines written by Jin Shengtian. It enables the reader to read 'Water Margin' as it is written, without worrying about what Jin Shengtian had to say about the accuracy of facts and the style and without having to figure out what a 17th-century stylist meant by 'the literary style of powdering the back' or 'the literary style of clouding the mountain.'" It goes without saying that the study of literature is a study of the literary works themselves. One has to study the literary works with an unbiased mind to appreciate their true literary qualities. If one is to give up this "first-hand" study and rely solely on findings of other researchers and comments of this and that famous critic, one is engaged in a "second-hand study." That is not a meaningful pursuit.

Hu Shi once made a thought-provoking remark: "If we can disregard prejudices inherited from the past, abandon our own personal biases, and have due respect for material evidences, we will reach the same conclusions." By "disregarding prejudices inherited from the past" Hu Shi meant that one should give free rein to his imagination, be bold in one's explorations, and not be stopped in one's progress by traditional views. It is true that Hu Shi once did say: "We will not be wise if we let Confucius and Zhu Xi lead us by the nose, and we will not be men of strong character if we let Marx, Lenin and Stalin lead us by the nose." ("Introducing My Ideas" by Hu Shi) His hostility toward Marxism and Leninism had to do with his class origins and deserves criticism. Nevertheless, his academic attitudes are not entirely void of redeeming features. His changes of opinions regarding whether there was ever a 70-chapter old edition of "Water Margin" may shed some light on his academic attitudes. In July 1920, Hu Shi voiced his opinion on the assertion by Jin Shengtian that the oldest edition of "Water Margin" only had 70 chapters and that the other chapters were added

by Lo Guanzhung as follows: "Regarding Jin Shengtan's assertion, we can have two choices: 1) We can take Jin's word for it that a 70-chapter edition did exist, or 2) We can assume that Jin lied and that Jin dreamed up this edition." After careful analysis, Hu Shi concluded that while it is hard to prove the first assumption, it is even harder to substantiate the second one. So his answer was: "Jin Shengtan had no reason to make up a non-existent edition. We may accept his assertion that he did have a 70-chapter edition in his home collection."

Then in June 1921, in writing his article entitled "More on 'Water Margin,'" he began to see that his conclusion had been based on insufficient evidences and began to doubt that there ever was a 70-chapter edition. He said: "I am beginning to doubt that the 70-chapter edition was as good as Jin Shengtan said it was. However, between the 100-chapter edition and a later edition, there could have been a 70-chapter edition." Then in June 1929, in writing a preface to the 120-chapter "Loyal and Righteous Water Margin," Hu Shi admitted frankly: "in those days the research on the editions of 'Water Margin' was still at an embryo stage. I did not even see the important 100-chapter and 120-chapter editions. Because of that, I reached some erroneous conclusions. The biggest mistake was to assume that a 70-chapter edition did circulate in the middle years of the Ming Dynasty, but my reasoning was not convincing enough. Nevertheless, proceeding from this assumption, I was to reach some wrong conclusions, hence my misunderstanding about how various versions of 'Water Margin' came about through the centuries." Then he cited the opinions of Lu Xun, Yu Pingbo and Li Xuanbo, saying humbly: "I admire Mr Lu Xun for making some very good points." "I also admire Mr Li Xuanbo for making bold assumptions and careful deductions." "As everyone is equal before truth," he went on, "I cast aside my personal views." His respect for truth is praiseworthy.

On the other hand, when Hu Shi disagreed with other scholars, he would present his argument in a factual and reasonable way. For example, he agreed with Li Xuanbo that "Water Margin" had strong "local flavor," but he disagreed with Li Xuanbo that there once were four parts of "Water Margin" circulating separately. He believed that "Lu Xun's idea that 'Water Margin' has always been one complete book in many chapters seems more reasonable than Li Xuanbo's idea that four separate books gradually grew into one book." On the other hand, Hu Shi disagreed with Lu Xun that there was first a short version of "Water Margin" and this was fleshed out to become longer versions. Hu Shi held the opinion that, by comparing various editions that once circulated, a complete and unabridged version was put out first. Only later were there condensed editions sold on the streets. As a matter of fact, Lu Xun and Hu Shi could be both right on this point. It was very likely that the formation of "Water Margin" went through both processes: a short version growing into a long version as well as a long version being condensed into a short version. Under normal circumstances, a literary piece starts with a bare-bones structure. It is then fleshed out and improved upon, to end up in a longer version. Then when it is printed for sale on the streets by merchants, it is again condensed to save on printing and paper cost so as to facilitate sales. This shows that a short version can grow into a longer version and a long version can be cut into a shorter version. These two processes complement each other rather than clash with each other. The foregoing is proof that Hu Shi had the scholastic's attitude of respecting objective conditions. Hu Shi's famous catch phrase "Be bold to suppose, be careful to prove" has always been refuted as a bourgeois idealist phrase. Nevertheless, his saying "Wait when there is no evidence, suppose when evidence is inconclusive, resolve when evidence is conclusive" ("Introducing My Personal Thoughts" by Hu Shi) seems to smack of materialism.

5 Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin" inevitably shows certain limitations imposed by his class outlook and his times. It was mentioned earlier in this article that it was natural and expected of Hu Shi, as a bourgeois thinker, to resist and even be hostile toward Marxism and Leninism. Fortunately, his "pernicious influence" in this regard was very limited. It calls for no further elaboration in this article.

I am of the opinion that while Hu Shi showed some materialist leanings and a sense of history in his research work on "Water Margin," his basic concept of history is still idealist. The most noticeable fault in his research conclusion is that he grossly underestimated, even failed to see the role of the people in the creation of the masterpiece "Water Margin." Similarly he attached too much importance to the role of the writers in the creative process.

"Water Margin" owed its creation, first of all, to the enthusiasm of the masses in telling and retelling the story. In addition, the "storytellers" entertaining the masses regularly added their creative touches to the story, broadening its appeal. As early as during the years of the South Sung Dynasty, the stories of the "blue-faced beast," the "unruly monk" and the "martial art expert" lifted out of the "Water Margin" were included in the repertoire of the "storytellers." They were also acted out in dramatic form in town squares to the delight of the townspeople. Lu Xun once pointed out: "The story of the 'Three Gallant and Five Righteous Men' mirrors the feelings of the common people just like 'Water Margin' does. However, it touches the surface only and lacks depth." ("A Brief History of Chinese Fiction" by Lu Xun) Indeed, it is the objective of "Water Margin" to mirror the feelings of the common people. Just because "Water Margin" mirrors the inner thoughts, feelings and aspirations of the common people and other working people, it has survived the barriers of time and distance and, with each retelling, it has been embellished and improved. Limited by his knowledge, Hu Shi did not even mention that the "storytellers" had anything to do with the shaping of "Water Margin." Similarly, while Hu Shi realized that the drama of the Yuan Dynasty also contributed to the formation of "Water Margin," he had a low opinion of that particular literary form. He said: "The writers during the Yuan Dynasty had a childish style and used an amateurish technique." "They were not very creative." This opinion led him to overexaggerate the contribution of Shi Nai-an in an arbitrary way. He was of the opinion that Shi Nai-an, with his "keen insight," "gradually maturing literary technique," and "boundless creativity," "did away with a primitive mountain lair and destroyed all the robot-like, lifeless characters in the old 'Water Margin' storyline. Then he went on to rewrite 'Water Margin,' rebuild the Liang Mountain, create a dozen or so unforgettable heroic figures, and turn out an immortal masterpiece." Hu Shi did not stop here. He blamed Shi Nai-an for "not daring to give up entirely the plot of 'Water Margin' that had circulated for 400 years before him." He argued: "If Shi Nai-an had pushed the long-circulated story of the water-surrounded Liang Mountain to the back of his head, if he had forgotten all about the story of the '36 leaders and 72 sub-leaders,' and if he had concentrated on the story of 7 or 8 men like Lu Zhisheng, Lin Zhong, Wu Song, Song Jiang, Li Lu and Shi Xiu, he could have made his novel more exciting and more of a literary gem. It is a pity that he could not break out of the confines of the historical outline of 'Water Margin.' It is unfortunate that he could not give up any of the 108 men. But any one man has his limitations in literary skill. It would be impossible for any writer to create as many as 108 true-to-life characters. So Shi Nai-an was forced to do patchwork. He messily 'squeezed' 108 men onto the Liang Mountain."

Hu Shi actually put the carriage before the horse. What he said contradicted the facts. As it happened, the most outstanding heroes in "Water Margin" were the products of constant hewing, polishing, refining and vitalizing by folk artists who told and retold the story of "Water Margin" for a living. These heroes were not "resketched" or "rebuilt" by Shi Nai-an from his own imagination. The structure of "Water Margin" also attests to this truth. As the story of "Water Margin" was told and retold year after year to live audiences, the passages that most appealed to and drew the warmest responses from the listeners were constantly embellished and polished until they became short stories that could be told by themselves, each of them concerning one character or a group of characters. Shi Nai-an's achievement was precisely in his following the old storyline of the water-surrounded Liang Mountain, linking up the short stories in a well-organized manner, and giving the entire book a final artistic polishing. Otherwise, if he had completely cast away the folk version of the story, he could not have produced a novel like "Water Margin."

Hu Shi's idealist concept evident in his research on "Water Margin" did exert considerable influence. For example, on the subject of what class ideology the writers of "Water Margin" represented, many latter-day researchers agreed that there was not just one writer, but "a group of writers," including "storytellers" who worked from one residential area to another as well as playwrights and script editors. At the same time, under the influence of Hu Shi, the same researchers would go back to the life, experiences, outlook and viewpoints of Shi Nai-an for support of their conclusions. That was why they often drew the wrong conclusions. Moreover, the questions about who Shi Nai-an was, what he did for a living, whether he wrote "Water Margin" or not have remained unanswered until today.

In short, Hu Shi's research of "Water Margin" was part and parcel of the May 4 Movement in favor of a new type of literature. It was conducted under the right principles and showed a materialist approach. When the "gang of four" were plotting conspiratorial activities under the pretext of criticizing "Water Margin," they also made a big fuss of criticizing Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin." In fact, their gibberish was trash compared to what Hu Shi said. For example, the "gang of four" repeatedly tooted the theory that "Song Jiang was trying to pull the rug from under Zhao Gai." This theory was merely an echo of Jin Shengtan's "The Literary Style of Spring and Autumn" which Hu Shi refuted. The "gang of four" have spread their pernicious influence far and wide on the research of "Water Margin." This influence has to be cleared away. To achieve this goal, one of the things we can do is to reevaluate Hu Shi's research on "Water Margin."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROLE OF 'EXPOSURE' IN LITERATURE DISCUSSED

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[Article by Bao Zang (1405 3661): "Tentative Discussion of the Issue of 'Exposure' in Literary Creations"]

[Text] For many years, "exposures" have been a "forbidden zone" in China's socialist literary and artistic creations. It has been deeply branded on everyone's head that to write an "exposure" is tantamount to being "anti-party and anti-socialism"; consequently, when theoreticians speak of "tigers" changing their colors, creative literary and artistic people dare not ask for details.

Following the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee resolutely implemented the artistic and literary program of "let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend. Revolutionary literary and artistic workers broke the shackles of old ideas to write numerous works exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and revealing contradictions among the people. These were condemned as works of "exposure literature," when actually they recreated the social life of a certain time or in a certain aspect, and powerfully reflected the aspirations of the people.

Despite the inability of some people in real life to look at reality, and despite the inability of writers to shake off lingering fears, nevertheless, such works have appeared in the field of literature, and they manifest a flourishing vitality. This is a fact that cannot be denied.

Today, the probing exploration of the "exposure" issue in socialist literature and art, and the diligent summarization of both positive and negative experiences is of significance for our complete and dialectic understanding of the social function of literature, and in making literature and art play the role they should play in the struggle to realize the four modernizations.

(1)

Ever since the "gang of four" was smashed, a lot of attention getting literary works of wide-ranging influence have appeared in China's literary world: "Shift Forman," "The Scar," "Sacred Mission," "Red Yulan Magnolia Beneath the Large Wall," and "Between Men and Demons" have reflected the irreconcilable contradictions between the crimes perpetrated by the tyranny of the "gang of four" and the broad masses of the people. "A General Cannot Do Such Things," "The Future Beckons," "Flower

"Harbinger of Spring," and "How Plant Manager Qiao Took Office" were timely revelations of the social contradictions following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which emancipated the mentality, eradicated myths, and in seeking truth through facts, demonstrated the contradiction between the party's fine traditions and the tendency toward mental ossification, bookishness, and following beaten paths. Events have demonstrated that this sort of works possess profound value in making people think, and is intimately related to the welfare of the broad masses of the people.

In the new socialist era, contradictions continue to exist in society, but so long as we adhere to the materialist theory of reflection, one cannot deny the role of "exposures" as performing a primary social function in literature. The materialist theory of reflection holds literature and art that acts in ideological ways are reflections in people's minds of a certain social life. Today, the perniciousness of the "gang of four" is far from being completely purged, and ultra-leftist trends of thought still threaten four modernization construction. Though the exploiting classes have been wiped out; the class struggle continues to exist; the power of old customs still stubbornly exists; and there are still many obstacles on the road along which we are advancing. Certain party and government organizations have an unhealthy tendency toward divorcing themselves from the masses, toward attitudes of the yamen, overstaffing of agencies, and excess hands for available work, and the subjectivism, factionalism, bureaucratism, mentality of special prerogatives of some cadres; the ossification or semi-ossification of the mentality of quite a few people; the violation of the law and the breaking of discipline, graft and embezzlement, hooligan criminality, as well as the use of influence, backdoor dealing, extreme individualism, and anarchic tendencies of some are perfectly obvious to everyone. When literature and art start with life as it is lived, such contradictions cannot but be reflected. Reflecting the contradictions, and mobilizing people to solve these contradictions is precisely the major task of socialist literature in the new era.

But "exposure literature" (this usage being adopted for convenience in expression), both now and in the past, has frequently been blamed in the following way: "the contradictions and dark aspects that 'exposure literature' reflect are not the true essence of life, so they are not real." What is meant by the essence of life? It is the relatively stable internal relationship formed by special contradictions contained in life itself. Marxist philosophers feel that in the process of development of contradictions in all things, contradictory activity exists from beginning to end in the process of development of everything. Without contradictions there can be no world. Both aspects of contradictions are always the unity of opposites. In social life, good things always develop out of the process of struggle with bad things and, in fact, the good, and the beautiful always exist relative to the false, the hideous, and the evil, and develop out of mutual struggle with them. It is the struggle between such contradictions and the outcome that determines the quality of life, its content, and its appearance. This is the essence of life. In such a sense, not to write about contradictions, and not to write about the struggle between light and darkness leaves no ways in which to reflect the essence of life. For the proletariat and revolutionary peoples to realize communism, they must make a thoroughgoing break with the old ownership relationships and the old traditional conceptions. In improving the objective world, they must likewise improve their own subjective worlds. Their recognition

of contradictions, the solution of contradictions, and step by step idealistic advance toward the light is the content of our social life. But this road of advance is not a smooth one, and sometimes evil forces may obstruct the advance of society or even drag society backwards, yet the overall trend must inevitably be the triumph of justice over evil, and the triumph of light over darkness. In adhering to the materialist theory of reflection, following the typical principles of creativity, truly showing the struggle between contradictions in real life, revealing the laws of the development of life, and in showing people the way ahead, socialist realistic literature, no matter whether eulogizing or exposing, can reflect the essence of life. It is just that one emphasizes praise for the heroic struggles in three great revolutionary battles of revolutionary heroes and the masses of the people, writing of figures who evoke praise, tears, or respect, establishing models for positive study by the people. The other emphasizes disclosure of the decadent backward forces in society that harm the masses of people and revolutionary endeavors, writing of figures who evoke laughter, contempt, and revulsion to provide the people with negative examples that may serve as a lesson and inspire people to march forward in a determined struggle. The two are mutually complementary and reach the same goal by different routes. Though "exposure literature" places lopsided emphasis on the false, the hideous, and the evil, showing off the seamy side of life, it may be equally true. Whether or not a literary or artistic creation is true has nothing to do with whether their creators said something good to hear or bad to hear, nor whether it soothes or grates on the ears of hearers, but rather whether that which was written accords with objective reality. So long as it accords with objective reality, it is true. To term a thing as being false, hideous, or evil and then purposely cover it up or beautify it is to lose the essential truthfulness of matters.

Additionally, there are some "well-intentioned people" who are always apprehensive lest an exposure of contradictions among the people might damage socialist endeavors. Such people, who are always fearing that the sky might fall, have no reason at all for their apprehensions. What we are exposing is an ulcer on our body, which is an ailment that the toxic germs of the old society have created on the body of the proletariat and the masses of the people, rather than the body itself of the proletariat and the masses of the people. The purpose of revealing it is to arouse attention for treating it rather than to wipe out the body. Surely, when pus and blood are squeezed out or gangrene dug out, pain is inevitable, but if sickness is hidden for fear of criticism and it attacks the vitals, life itself may be threatened. Therefore, we positively cannot ignore the work of prevention and treatment of illness. Stalin made a very profound observation on this point. It was 1930 when the USSR was at a crucial turning point in history and the class struggle within the country was extremely sharp. Trotskyite elements in literary circles and agents of the kulaks were viciously slandering and attacking Soviet authority. Fearing others might misuse it, Gorki began to have doubts about the self-criticism among the people that had been carried out for a time in the press, so he wrote a letter to Comrade Stalin to set forth his views. In a letter of reply, Stalin stated with extreme clarity: "We cannot do away with self-criticism. No matter what, we cannot, Aleksel Maksimovich. Without self-criticism, the stagnation and corruption in government organizations, the growth of bureaucracy, and the destruction of the creative initiative of the working class cannot be avoided. Of course self-criticism provides the enemy with materials. You are entirely correct on this point. But it also provides

materials (and a driving force) for our progress, for carrying forward the building of the strength of the workers, for the development of competition, and for shock brigades. The advantages offset or outweigh the disadvantages." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 2, pp 152-155). Here Stalin operated from a strategically commanding position to declare the necessity for the growth of self-criticism, and made an extremely brilliant analysis of the pros and cons of the development of self-criticism. This is very inspiring for our present day correct appreciation of the social role of "exposure literature." We must study this Marxist method of understanding things used by Comrade Stalin and not look only at the bad points of "exposures," but realize more fully the good points of "exposures," and we must particularly believe that the good points will triumph over the bad points. In this way, we can have a supportive attitude toward "exposure literature."

(2)

In order to make "exposure literature" play a positive role in real life, we should diligently summarize both positive and negative experiences.

The primary problem is to clearly identify the object for exposure. This problem may be stated simply as any dark forces that harm socialist endeavors and the welfare of the masses of people must be exposed. The 10-year rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused great catastrophe for the Chinese people and created a historical regression. They are criminals in Chinese history, and writers should use critical pens to expose their towering crimes. Though a certain number of works have been written to expose their crimes, they are far from being enough, an epic work with depth and breadth has yet to be produced. We should use an epic article with great profundity to nail their hideousness to the historical pillar of shame. In the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the ultra-left trend of thought has brought immense suffering to the masses of the people and done serious harm to socialist endeavors. The enlarged anti-rightist struggle of 1957, the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958, which ran counter to objective laws, the anti-right deviation of 1959, which compounded error upon error, produced periods of hardship, one after another, such as are rarely seen throughout the world. Our literature and art should truly depict this period of history, and conscientiously summarize these historical experiences so that our sons, grandsons, and later generations will never forget them. This decidedly is not "looking back," but possesses extremely profound and far-reaching historical significance for impelling the forward development of society and avoiding a historical regression. Today, our party has already brought about a shift in its work emphasis, and the major contradiction we face is "reform of China's current production relationships and the parts of the superstructure that impede realization of the four modernizations, to sweep away all of the power of habit that does not help realization of the four modernizations." ("Report on the Work of the Government" delivered by Chairman Hua Guofeng at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress) The revolutionary art and literature of the new era must become involved in life and expose the current major contradictions in society to help the people have a clear-headed appreciation of reality and to criticize decadent and backward forces in order to sweep away obstacles to the realization of the four modernizations.

"Exposures" must be in accord with the reality of the essence of life. Realism is a common requirement for all literature and art, and "exposure literature" is no

exception. Lu Shun felt that literary and artistic creativity "did not have to be actual events of the past, but had to be actualities that might come about. So it does not 'fabricate' or 'slander'; it neither reveals shameful secrets nor does it just record shocking and appalling so-called 'incredible things' or 'things that are stranger than fiction.'" (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is Satire?") In our real lives, there is no lack of false, hideous, and evil things, but one cannot write only about "the actual events of the past," but about the actualities that might come about, which is to say one should summarize, condense, and typify. "Exposure literature" must guard against expression of "personal animosities" and write about "public enmity" instead. "Private animosities" are natural forms that are not necessarily representative, and that are not necessarily true either. (It should be recognized that among the phenomena of life there are phenomena that reflect the essence, which is also true), while "public enmity," in that it has universality and reflects the will of the masses of people, is true in essence. So-called "exposure literature" bereft of the essential realities of life is not only of no benefit, but is harmful. As Lu Xun said, "even if such a thing were possible, it would be nothing but rumor mongering and slandering." (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 1 "On Satire") Though these words may be somewhat harsh, they speak to the nub of the issue.

"Exposure literature" must strike at current evils. It is not enough for "exposure literature" merely to expose contradictions, it also has to do as Lu Xun said, "the adversary must be mortally wounded in the place that is struck." We do not want merely to expose the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the perniciousness of the ultra-left line, and the harm done by modern superstition; we want also to demonstrate in a profound way the historical and social causes of these criminal phenomena, summarize their valuable historical lessons, and provide the broad masses of cadres and people a profound education. Quite a few works of the "exposure" variety have been produced in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four," to be sure, but quite a few works lack historical depth. Some of them have fantastic and tortuous plots; some of them are repetitive love stories; and some tell only of superficialities in life, lacking depth. They are particularly lacking in baring the major social contradictions impairing the realization of the four modernizations. Still others bare one aspect of contradictions, ignoring the other aspect. It will do no harm to mention here "Woman Robber," ("Cinema Creations" 11th issue, 1979), and "Defiance of the Law," ("Yalu River" 10th issue, 1979). These two works have a basically sympathetic and appreciative attitude toward the silly little girl in "Woman Robber," and toward Bochun, the one who was in "Defiance of the Law," and they lack the needed exposure and criticism. At the present time, the major contradiction in social life is whether it is possible to bring about stability and unity and a common effort for the four modernizations, but "Woman Robber," and "Defiance of the Law" are major elements in the destruction of social stability, for which reason they should receive a certain amount of exposure and criticism. Thus, we have the responsibility of pointing out that unless such hideous phenomena are exposed and criticized, there can be no hitting home at current evils. Of course, we cannot rashly negate a work of literature.

"Exposure literature" should be adept in discriminating between two kinds of contradictions that are of a different nature. Of course, we cannot love enemies, and we cannot love hideous phenomena in society. All that is degenerate and backward we should expose and lash, but writers must clearly discriminate between

contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and contradictions among the people. We must mercilessly expose the crimes of the enemy, strip away their camouflage, and expose the trend toward their doom. Criticism of the people's shortcoming is also necessary, and it has to hit home at crucial points, but it must be from the standpoint of the people and be enthusiastically couched in terms of protecting the people and educating the people. At this point I would like to raise Comrade Yeh Wenfu's [0673 2429 4395] "A General Cannot Do Such Things," ("Poetry," Issue 8, 1979). The poet has the greatest esteem for the meritorious service of the general as "an army horse on a campaign," is pained at the general's mental transformation in being "uncaring about the weal and woe of the people," and is severely condemnatory of the general's "unceasing life of pleasure." The poet is moved by genuine sentiments, made aware through righteous causes, and strikes out with a violent shove. In everything, he "is hoping they will improve but does not want to go into the water for this group." (Lu Xun, Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is 'Satire'?") The poet stands at the apex of the age with a spirit of high resolve for revolutionary undertakings and a heart filled with ardor and sincerity for revolutionary comrades, sounding the tocsin of continuous revolution for revolutionary cadres. In this poem, the poet deals rather effectively with and reflects the contradictions among the people, and provides precious experience as well in how to handle the "exposure" issue in literature in the new age of socialism.

"Exposure literature" should permit the reader to see the light in the darkness. History must always develop through struggle, and light must always shine through darkness. This is the dialectic method of life itself. Literature and art cannot contravene this law of the unity of opposites of light and darkness. Aleksander Ostrovskii's "Great Thunderstorm" was clearly an exposure of the dark tragedies in Russian society. Kaqielinna's [phonetic] suicide by jumping into a river was doubtlessly a powerful denunciation of the dark monarchy, but the author manifested a newly born strength in her body. Nikolai Toupolyubov has said, "There is something in the 'Great Thunderstorm' that buoys the spirit and gives encouragement." From Kaqielinna's body, the spectator can see "a ray of light in the darkness of the monarchy." ("A Ray of Light in the Darkness of the Monarchy") When even bourgeois criticism of realistic writers permits readers to see a ray of light in the darkness, how much more so our socialist literature. Therefore, "exposure literature" positively cannot allow readers to see only an expanse of darkness and feel that there is no way out. In his analysis and critique of Bednyi's "Climb Down From the Hot Stove," Stalin stated concretely that, "In this essay (as in other essays) there are numerous brilliant passages that strike at the vitals. But there is also a measure of tar there that dirties the entire picture, turning it into an out-and-out 'bilierva'." (Quoter's note: "Bilierva" is Russian colloquial for "mire" or "swamp" or, in other words, a "bloody mess.") Stalin very severely criticized Bednyi, saying his "criticism of the shortcomings of Soviet life" had become "a slander of the Soviet past and the Soviet present." (To Comrade Bednyi, "Complete Works of Stalin, Vol 12) These views are extremely precious. Lu Xun also said, "If a work appears to be satirical but is utterly without good intent and devoid of warmth and makes the reader feel that everything in the world is utterly lacking in value and is unredeeming, then it is not satire but 'freezing irony'." (Qiejieting Essays, Vol 2, "What Is 'Satire'?") Works of "freezing irony" can perform no positive role in real life.

When it comes to the issue of "exposure" in literary and artistic creativity, we have experience to follow and lessons to learn from. We have to be adept at learning the lessons of experience, and we must dare to create boldly so that our socialist realist literature will make new breakthroughs in this regard.

(3)

Writers of "exposure literature" must be clearheaded, have a firm standpoint, act as warriors in defense of truth, and be a vanguard in leading the way for the four modernizations.

Writers of "exposure literature" must maintain independent thinking in their daily lives. During the rampages of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they promoted feudal fascist dictatorship and a policy of duping the people, going in big for modern superstition on the one hand and going in big for "putting their own relatives into official positions," shackling the people's minds, not allowing them to go beyond certain limits. In the field of literature, they preached, "leaders to produce ideas, the masses to produce life, and writers to produce artistry" in a so-called "three-way combination for creativity," thereby turning writers into mouthpieces with no thoughts of their own. They also required writers to "start with the line," and "put the main theme first," particularly "to write works that struggle against capitalist roaders, to usurp the party and seize authority, and to create counterrevolutionary opinion on their behalf. They completely abolished independent thinking by writers in a vain hope of making writers into useful tools for the promotion of a counterrevolutionary political line. Today, we encourage writers to think independently, to boldly innovate, which means breaking the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," getting rid of the disturbance caused by the ultra-left trend of thought, and giving writers' thoughts and creativity a broad realm. In this broad realm, writers should eradicate all sorts of superstition, overcome all prejudices, resist all erroneous trends, and get rid of pragmatism. In this broad realm, writers should use the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint, and methods to plumb diverse socialist depths and illuminate the darkness, get to the bottom of matters, study new situations, discover new problems, make timely use of their own artistic work to put forward original views about life, help people accurately understand life, and proceed to actively reform life.

Writers of "exposure literature" should also dare to have the fighting courage to be firm rocks in the middle of a stream, and have an uncompromising battle spirit. When you lay bare false, hideous, and evil things, and when you attack decadent and backward forces in society, you will, of course, meet with a mad counterattack by these forces. This is the inevitable logic of revolutionary struggle. Sometimes when facing an erroneous trend, you may come under attack or even be persecuted. This is also not unprecedented. Under these circumstances, in order to protect the interests of the people and the interests of socialism, revolutionary writers must continue to battle tenaciously. If the revolutionary writers of today are unmoved at the sight of the people's suffering, calmly accept the sight of the four modernizations being destroyed, and yield ground when they see evil forces on the rampage, what kind of serving the people, or serving society, or serving the four modernizations is that! It is not easy for a person to discover truth, but to uphold truth is even more difficult. Martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] is a model whom revolutionary writers study. During the days when he was pelted with

adversities, in thinking about the future fate of the country, he said what the broad masses of people wanted to say but could not, and when threatened with death, he continued to maintain, "my views will not change." China's literary and artistic circles need more Zhang Zhixin style warriors concerned about the country and the people, and in upholding truth!

Naturally, "exposure literature" writers must also take into consideration the social consequences of their works. In this new socialist era, our party's political line is "unite people of all nationalities throughout the country; arouse all positive elements; and with one heart and one mind go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modernized socialist power." In order to attain this objective, we must adhere to the four basic principles, and we must create a stable and united political situation. This is where the fundamental welfare of the people of the entire country lies. Our objective in writing "exposure literature" is to reveal the contradictions in the realization of the four modernizations, to remove the obstacles to the four modernizations, and to advance the early building of a modernized socialist power. Understood in these terms, the roles of eulogy and exposure are differences in approach with equally satisfactory results. We are revolutionary utilitarianists who cannot help being concerned with the welfare of the people, the state and the party. And these welfares are not concentrated on the realization of the four modernizations. If we depart from this objective, expose for the sake of exposure, contravene the four fundamental principles, and in impairing stability and unity also destroy four modernization construction, we will thereby have turned our backs on the fundamental welfare of the people. This kind of "exposure literature" is simply self-defeating. Commenting on the denunciatory novels that flourished toward the end of the Qing dynasty, Lu Xun said, "Even though meant to rectify society, they do not differ much from satirical fiction; their showy representations demonstrate a paucity of literary sophistication. Lacking magnanimity and writing skill, the novelists depend on exaggerations to please the reading public." In his criticism, "Eyewitness to 20 Years of Monstrosity," he pointed out again that impetuous descriptions and exaggerations due to zealous disclosures of social evils have so much eroded their appeal that they are but a symposium of scandals for idol gossip and laughter." These are problems that also merit attention in writing "exposure literature" today.

In the environment of this socialist historical new era, both democracy and the legal system should give revolutionary writers political assurance when writing "exposure literature." In the fields of science and literature, we will unswervingly carry out a program of "let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend." Acting on the premise of support for the four fundamental principles, literary and art works may extol the light and they may also expose darkness. So long as they do not oppose the party or oppose socialism, they should be permitted to exist, and so long as they do not violate criminal laws, they should neither be attacked nor persecuted. The historical tragedy of the enlarged anti-rightist campaign of the 1950's shall have no repeat performances! We must truly refrain from seizing on mistakes or shortcomings, not beat people with sticks, and not label them with the "three no-isms." We should encourage writers to liberate their thoughts, boldly create, permit them to make mistakes, and permit them to correct their mistakes too. There should be no loss of people as a result of literature, and no loss of literature as a result of

people either. Only in this way can an excellent situation of flourishing creativity come about.

As long ago as the 1920's, Lu Xun said with deep feeling, "Because the Chinese people have never dared to look at human life properly but could only practice deceit and cheating, literature and art that deceives and cheats was also produced, and this literature and art led the Chinese people ever deeper into the morass of deceit and cheating, until they are no longer aware of it. The world is changing daily. The time for our writers to take off their false fronts, and sincerely, deeply, and courageously look at human life and write of its flesh and blood has arrived. There has been need for a long time for a new field of literature, and there has been need for a long time for several fearless pathbreakers!" ("Graveyard. On Opening the Eyes and Seeing"). Today, the days when the Chinese people were "deceived and cheated" have passed. With the smashing of the "gang of four," a "brand new field of literature" has been opened, and we have joyously seen a group of new "pathbreakers" struggling to appear. We believe that only by upholding dialectic materialism, diligently summarizing negative and positive experiences with "exposure literature," continuing to make the most of its fine points, and overcoming the shortcomings and inadequacies that are so difficult to avoid in exploration thereby developing in a more healthy way, that people will have a more realistic understanding about the position and function of "exposure literature." We may expect that in the new socialist era "exposure literature" must become a literature that cries out on behalf of the people, and a literature that opens the way to the four modernizations.

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9432

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATURE OF POPULATION LAW, DEMOGRAPHY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Wang Shengduo [3769 5116 1122]: "An Exploration of the Nature of Population Law and the Classification of Demography as a Science"]

[Text] Ever since the "taboo area" of population theory was broken through, people in the scientific circles have broached many dubious theoretical questions awaiting solution. One of such questions has to do with the nature of population law and the classification of demography as a science. Is population law, after all, a natural law or a social law? Does demography belong to natural science or social science? An exploration of these questions is of great theoretical and practical significance to us.

Concerning the Nature of Population Law

For a long time, this view has prevailed: that is, "population law is a social law and not a natural law." I think this "is--and not" formula of bringing up the question is partial, simplistic, and hence imprecise. This touches first of all our understanding of the essence of population. The so-called population is no other than humanity characterized by certain given biological faculties living in certain given social relationships. Therefore, population is of a dual nature, i.e., characterized by man's natural as well as social disposition.

Man's natural disposition is namely his biological constitution. Man has evolved from a higher animal through the process of labor. At the beginning of human society, the primitive men had barely left their animal world; their life and procreation were a manifestation almost entirely of their natural disposition. The law of creatures was nearly in complete control of the reproduction of the population of primitive men. Up to this very day, there are still many similarities between man and higher animals in terms of the biological characteristics of their organic constitutions, and their procreative instincts and birth-giving laws. This is common knowledge. "Therefore the very first concrete fact that needs to be defined is bodily structures of these individuals and the relationship between these individuals conditioned by such bodily structures and nature."¹

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 23.

Social disposition is what man alone possesses. 'Man's essential character is not an abstract thing that an individual innately possesses; in its realistic nature, it is the sumtotal of all social relationships.'¹ All of man's activities (including production struggle, class struggle, and scientific experiment, and daily activities such as wearing clothes, eating, taking up residence and walking around) are of a social nature. An absolutely isolated individual like "Robinson" does not exist. This is also common knowledge. Man's social disposition fundamentally and strictly separates man from the animal world. Therefore, Marx clearly said in his "Economics—A Philosophical Manuscript": "Man is a social being."²

Population thus represents the dialectical unity between man's natural disposition and man's social disposition. In this entity of unity, man's social disposition is the dominant aspect. Population is therefore the entity of unity between man's natural disposition and man's social disposition dominated by the latter. This is namely the essence of population as we understand it.

In the treatment of a fact such as this in the nature of common knowledge, we have somehow found ourselves in constant debate for a long time. Some people totally disregard man's natural disposition; they attribute man's essential character only to his social disposition, and they in turn attribute his social disposition to his class nature; hence: "human nature = man's social disposition = man's class nature." This was the representative view of the 1960's. At that time, anyone who chose to discuss man's natural disposition would be at once attached the label of advocating a "theory of human nature." Yao Wenyuan's stick was most frightening. He said: anyone who chooses to discuss such biological demands as "food and sex" is "liable to equate human nature with animal nature."³ In his view, man has no natural disposition, but only a social disposition. And what is man's social disposition? Yao Wenyuan thought that it was namely man's class nature. This is obviously contrary to facts. Because man's class nature is an important content of his social disposition, but not its only content. In the primitive society and in the future communist society, class nature never existed and will no longer exist: would that mean man's social disposition never existed and will no longer exist?! "Human nature = man's social disposition = man's class nature" therefore constituted the theoretical basis which led to the expansion of class struggle. Even up to now, there is still a market for such a simplistic formula as "man's social disposition is reflected only in his class nature." Therefor, there is need to criticize it solemnly in order to return to order from disorder.

1. Marx: "Concerning Feuerback's Outline."

2. In his "Economics—A Philosophical Manuscript," Marx clearly discussed the duality of man's essential character: "Humanity is directly of a natural substance." "But, man is not only himself of natural substance, he is also the natural substance of humanity." "So-called humanity is a bodily substance of natural force turned into a lively, realistic, and sensual objective existence." [It] is an entity of unity between a natural disposition and a social disposition.

3. WENYI BAO [LITERARY GAZETTE], No 2, 1960.

Of course, neither can we agree with this point of view, that is, to equate man's natural disposition with an animal's natural disposition. Some people say, "From the point of view of biology and from the point of view of natural disposition, there is no essential difference between man and other higher animals."¹ Such a view is rather over exaggerated. In reality, there is still an essential difference between man and other animals in terms of their biological characteristics regarding physique, structure, cerebrum, procreation, etc. Therefore, what we are talking about here is man's natural disposition; such man's natural disposition has its own intrinsic characteristics (or it can be called man's characteristic natural disposition), which only closely resembles an animal's natural disposition. There is a great difference between "close similarity" and "essential sameness."

The duality of the nature of population determines the fact that population law is also of a dualistic nature. Population develops according to law. In this process of development according to objective law, man's natural disposition and social disposition both play a role, with his social disposition merely playing the dominant role. We may put it this way: man's natural disposition is the basis of the existence and development of population; man's social disposition is the dominant factor in the existence and development of population. Population law is both natural law and social law; but that which occupies a dominant position is social law. This is to say, the process of a population coming into being, essentially, is a social process which is controlled by social conditions. The population theory of the bourgeoisie fails to see this; before Marx, they took human nature as man's natural disposition, and the formula "human nature = biological nature" assumed a ruling position. They denied the essential difference between man and the animals and vainly attempted to transplant the natural law of animal procreation directly to population law; this was utterly preposterous and, as a result, they were naturally subject to the solemn criticism of classical Marxist writers. Marx pointed out: "Actually, every particular, historical mode of production had its particularly and historically functioning population law."² Marx contrasted man with the animals and on the basis of man's social disposition--that is, the fact that man lives in various social modes (and not just purely in the natural environment) so that the growth of a population must have its own social characteristics--he reached this conclusion: different modes of social production have different population laws. Engels said, precisely because of such a fundamental difference, "it is impossible to transplant the laws of the animal society directly to the human society."³ In response to the error of the population theory advanced by the bourgeoisie, Lenin also pointed out: "The conditions of the growth of humanity are directly determined by the organic structures of the different societies."⁴ Consequently, we should not study population laws abstractly apart from the social disposition of population.

Regrettably, we have in the past infinitely and absolutely exaggerated these truthful views. As a result, the classical writers seemed to have only stressed man's social disposition on the question of population, and population laws seemed to be

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1. WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERARY CRITICISM], No 2, 1979.
 2. "Das Kapital," vol 1.
 3. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 234, p 163.
 4. "Complete Works of Lenin," vol 1, p 430.

only social laws, so that man's natural disposition became completely negated, and we dared thus no longer to suggest that in the process of the development of a population natural laws also relatively independently play a role. The kind of metaphysical prejudice that "population law is social law and not natural law" is inferred from this very situation.

In fact, this is a misunderstanding. Our revolutionary guides never denied man's natural disposition, nor did they deny the important role of natural law. Marx said: "The realistic characters of man are diverse, just as the prescriptions of man's essential character and man's activities are diverse."¹ How can man, as a reality, be without the biological characteristics of man's essential character--his natural disposition? If so, that would be equivalent to saying that "man is not born from the womb of his mother, but transformed from the God of a monotheism." This kind of men are not men in blood and flesh, but "abstract men." Engels also pointed out: "Including man," "all higher organisms develop and procreate according to a common law." All procreative instincts are similar. How can we deny the role of natural law? He also specifically suggested: "The romantic relations between persons, especially between the sexes, have existed ever since the beginning of humanity."² Marx also said: "The relations between the sexes are the most natural relations between persons." "Eating, drinking and sexual love are of course true human faculties." He never excluded man's natural disposition and biological nature, but was only opposed to exaggerating man's natural disposition and biological nature into his "ultimate and only" disposition and to equating the functions of man with those of an animal.³

From this point, what Malthus said about "sexual desires between the sexes being inevitable," just as "food being a necessity for man's existence" and [desiring food] being a human instinct, is an undoubted fact. The question is that he went to the other extreme, partially stressing and exaggerating this natural disposition on the part of man and totally denying man's social disposition, and further asserted that, according to man's procreative instincts, population was bound to increase geometrically beyond control, whereas means of livelihood could only increase mathematically, so that population surplus would prove inevitable and nothing would do unless a large proportion became "killed, starved to death, or died of illness." This was utterly preposterous, and a case of equating the functions of man with those of an animal.

Materialists acknowledge man's procreative instincts. Little children are unaware; old persons cannot have children; "after 10 months' [sic] pregnancy, a child is born one day"; all of these biological facts exist objectively. But man is different from the animals; he can, through social reform, "restrict the procreative instincts from the moral standpoint."⁴ He can, through birth control, consciously "adjust man's procreation at the same time, like he adjusts material production."⁵ And this is one thing only a socialist society can achieve.

1. In "Marx and Engels on Art," I, p 342.

2. Both in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4, pp 232, 241, 229.

3. "Economics--A Philosophical Manuscript."

4. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 620.

5. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 35, p 145.

There is an important practical meaning, therefore, for us to face squarely the duality of population and population law and their relationship as opposites in unity. It enables us to understand that population reproduction, apart from social conditions, must also be predicated upon definite natural conditions. It was precisely on the basis of this point that Vice Premier Chen Muhua recently pointed out: in resorting to birth control on a large scale, we must energetically propagate the scientific knowledge about human biology and procreation. "We must break through the conventions of feudal thinking, forthrightly presenting the scientific and technical knowledge of birth control in 'the hall of the sophisticated' in conducting our widespread propagation, so that every household and every individual will understand," and so that everybody can appreciate the natural scientific knowledge on birth and thereby control his procreative instincts and become consciously a master in the realm of procreation.

Concerning Population Quantity and Quality

Let us explore furthermore the nature of population law from the relationship between population quantity and quality. Population, like anything else, is an entity of unity between quantity and quality. Population development includes the development in quantity and in quality. In the determination of the quantitative and the qualitative condition of a population, both social laws and natural laws play a role. In the past, we paid attention only to the quantitative aspect of a population (population total, population density, rate of increase, etc) but not to its qualitative aspect, and hence we contrarily treated "an improvement of population quality" as a poisonous weed and criticized it without reservation. We dared still less to study the natural laws by which an improvement of population quality could be achieved. This was a violation of dialectics. Could it be that a population was only susceptible to quantitative prescription but not to qualitative prescription?

What we speak of as population quality here is the organic unity of the three important factors, the ideological consciousness, the scientific and cultural level, and the physical health of a population. The improvement of these three factors is obviously subject to the constraint of social conditions, but neither can they depart from the functioning of natural laws (especially in the case of physical health). Therefore, this question has always aroused man's attention and exploration.

As early as the ancient times, people already simplistically considered man's natural biological disposition and thought of improving population quality from this angle. The ancient Greeks were the very ones who studied the laws of human heredity on the basis of material heredity and thereby cultivated the evil custom of putting to death infants with biological defects. Aristotle, who was called "a very great thinker of ancient times" by Marx, put forward his own conceptualization and perception as to why, in the hereditary process, children looked like their parents and the younger generation looked like the older generation, and thereby expressed the opinion that the physique of the father's generation was the "blueprint" of the son's generation. Our colloquial saying, that "when planting rice we must have good sprouts, when wishing for a son, one must have a healthy mother," also has such a connotation. Later, genetics became a science and proved that the physical situation of the son's generation had to do, of course, with its inherited social

conditions, but it was closely related also to its endowed physical heredity from the father's generation, and that certain diseases (such as high blood pressure, psychosis, etc) could also be hereditary.

As a result, in modern genetics the science that specializes in the study and improvement of human heredity--eugenics, also called the study of "hereditary health," has started to develop. It specializes in exploring how to have the best qualities of parents passed on to the younger generation and how, at the same time, to avoid letting harmful hereditary factors create born biological defects in the children.

This plays an important role in the improvement of population quality. We may present an example in this regard: according to a survey by the World Health Organization, the death rate of children from the marriage of close blood relatives is generally three times higher than that of children from the marriage of non-close blood relatives. Therefore, our Marriage Law prescribes: between "blood relatives of direct descent, or those who are brother and sister to each other or brother and sister sharing one father or one mother," and in the case of "those who are victims of venereal disease and psychopathia not yet cured, and those who have caught leprosy or other diseases and are therefore judged in medicine to be unsuitable for marriage," marriage is prohibited. There is a fully scientific basis for this.

The focus of our birth control work has already been shifted to the emphasis on the "one-child family." How to assure the physical and mental health of a single child, reduce his hereditary diseases, and look after his normal growth, gaining of strength and acquisition of talent concerns the happiness of such family and also affects the quality of the population, our four modernizations construction, as well as the prosperity of the nation. Therefore, we especially need to study hereditary health and to promote eugenics.

But, for a long time, because we denied man's natural biological disposition and stressed only man's social class disposition and thereby whipped up an erroneous trend at home and abroad in equating eugenics with racial discrimination and hence putting eugenics to death with a single blow, we made people cringe with fear in ever thinking about taking up eugenics and hence created an artificial taboo area. For instance, the "Philosophical Dictionary" compiled by the Soviet Union adjudicated eugenics to be an "extremely reactionary," "bourgeois pseudo-science." We must now reverse the verdict on behalf of eugenics for the sake of its reputation. As a science, eugenics does not have any class nature, because hereditary diseases do not select any race or class. In the case of its certain principles (such as "overbreeding, from the eugenical point of view, can be more harmful than beneficial"; "since one reaps what one sows, hereditary characteristics can be passed on generation after generation"; etc) we can very well correctly apply their scientific truth in order to create happiness for mankind in behalf of the progressive classes, but they can also be distorted and utilized by racists as the theoretical basis for racial discrimination and genocide. Hitler was one who made use of eugenics to unscrupulously propagate the fallacy that German's "superior race should rule the world." The gang of four also made use of eugenics to unscrupulously indulge in a reactionary emphasis on genealogy. These falsehoods must be thoroughly criticized. But we must not, because of this, pour away the child along with the dirty water by completely negating eugenics.

The compilers of the "Philosophical Dictionary" also arbitrarily declare: "Man and man's spiritual development and physical development are entirely determined by the social conditions in which he lives." This does not accord with the Marxist theory and objective facts, because man lives in the natural environment just as he does in society. "So long as man exists, natural history and human history continue to restrain each other." In the case of man's natural disposition and social disposition, "the two aspects are closely related."¹ Both natural laws and social laws have played the role of a unity between opposites in respect to the development of man. It was precisely in this sense that Marx held that in studying man, we must at the same time consider the mutual relations and roles between man's natural disposition and social disposition. "From now on, natural sciences will include the science of man, just as the science of man includes natural sciences: this will be a science [in its own right]."²

An attempt to partially and excessively stress man's social disposition and the deterministic role of social conditions in respect to man's spirit and physical strength, deny man's natural disposition, and dismiss the role of the laws concerning man's innate, natural heredity fundamentally falls short of explaining many facts. For instance, both at home and abroad are found many "crude children"; it is possible for us to try to unlock the attendant causes simply from the sociological angle?! Such an ultra-left theory is tantamount to dismissing eugenics and the natural sciences altogether. This is undoubtedly utterly erroneous. Marx and Engels cited the example of man's natural selection in ancient society to illustrate this point; they related Morgan's words by saying: "Marriages between clans without any blood relations procreated physically and mentally healthier races; when two advancing tribes were merged together, the skulls and brains of the new generation became naturally expanded to the extent by which they combined the talents of both tribes."³ Modern science has also proved the theory concerning the fact that children begetted by parents free of any blood relationship are mentally and physically superior; this accords with the principle of eugenics. We must respect science and facts.

We must restore the scientific outlook of eugenics. Now, the taboo area has already been broken through, and eugenics has already been liberated. Not a few units in our country have already started anew their eugenical studies and achieved not a few results. For instance, the level of the developing band [7359 1601 2111 5890] technique in the study of human chromosomes has been greatly elevated and has begun to be applied in clinical diagnosis; not a few units are studying the establishment of a new method for cultivating choriod cells in order to lay the foundation for diagnosing chromosome diseases in an earlier stage of the embryonic period; not a few localities have started pre-birth diagnoses (including diagnoses on the sex and growth of the fetus); some cities have also established office visits by patients for heredity consultation, carried out marriage and birth control guidance, and accumulated not a little experience in reducing the occurrence of hereditary diseases and strengthening the physical health of the population.

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 20.

2. "Economics—A Philosophical Manuscript."

3. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4, p 42.

For a long time, the study of man's natural disposition has been overlooked, suppressed, or even dismissed. We should eliminate our remnant fear, do our best to catch up, and make a go of our study in this regard quickly in order to establish scientific demography.

Concerning the Classification of Demography

An exploration of the nature of population law is designed to define the nature and classification of demography; as the former is made clear, the latter becomes also easy to solve. Does demography, after all, belong to the natural sciences or the social sciences? The answer now can be supplied.

I am of the opinion that, on the basis of the dual nature of population law, demography partakes of the contents of both natural science and social science; we can neither simply ascribe demography to the natural sciences nor do so to the social sciences; demography is a marginal science, a comprehensive science situated between the natural sciences and the social sciences. Population is a complex totality consisting of multiple dispositions and multiple relationships. It is bound to touch on sociology, economics, historiography, nationality science, biology, psychology, medicine, genetics, ecology, the study of resources, the study of talents, etc. We must establish the independent scientific system of demography on such a comprehensive scientific basis. The objective of demography is the study of the nature of the law of development on the part of population reproduction. Only by carrying out such a comprehensive study is it possible to accomplish this.

Among bourgeois demographers, some overlook social laws and social sciences and proceed from the single-minded biological point of view, thinking that "only from man's born biological aspects" is it possible to discover the laws of population development; some overlook natural laws and natural sciences and attempt to study the quantity, distribution and composition of population, plus the birth rate, death rate, regional changes and social changes and other aspects of population change of the like, purely from the social science angle. The results of their respective insistence on such extremes can in no way reveal the real nature of the law of population development.

These experiences and lessons have already attracted people's attention. Today, demography has already started to develop in the direction of comprehensive research. During the last 10 years, there are several hundred institutions of demographical research in the world engaged in comprehensive scientific research; there are 4-5,000 journals and publications (among whose contributors many are well known natural scientists, social scientists, or scholars of other sciences) devoted to the exploration of demography from a broad angle.

Facts indicate that demography is a comprehensive system of scientific knowledge. Deviating from this, demography is bound to turn into a dead alley and fail to comprehensively and realistically reveal the nature of the law of population reproduction. For example, demographical economics studies the nature of the law of population development in the economic aspect; demographical sociology studies the relationship between population law and social law, and explores the nature of the law of population development from the angle of social development; demographical hygiene and genetics studies the nature of law in respect to the physical health of a

population; demographical statistics studies various numerical data about a population such as birth rate, death rate, and natural increase rate in order to generalize certain characteristics of the law of population development; demographical geography studies population distribution and the relationship between a population and aspects of the natural environment in order to reveal the nature of the law of population development from these angles. While discussing the causes of China's large population, Malthus held that China's temperate climate and soil conditions are particularly inducive to the rearing of many children; this point is of some referential value to us. If we make some comparison internally, half of our territory occupied by the minority nationalities accommodates a very thin population, which makes up only 6 percent of the total; apart from social causes, natural causes (such as cold climate, wind and sand, aridity, etc) are evidently also a factor in this regard. Last year, Tibet's birthrate target was 10 percent; efforts were made to let them procreate without restriction, but the result was that only a 5 percent rate was achieved. In hot regions, people develop early, and in cold regions people mature very late: this is common knowledge to everyone. This illustrates that factors exerting influence upon a population are complex and complicated, and they cannot be simplified when we explore the nature of population law.¹

Demography must study the nature of the law of population increase and also the nature of the law of population longevity. Then, wherein does the law of population longevity lie? Since liberation, the lifespan of our people has been generally extended. Take Shanghai as an example, the average lifespan of males is 70.80 years and that of females is 75.48 years, with both figures more than 28 years longer than those of 1951. This extension has changed the historical saying, "It has always been rare for a man to live to 70 years of age," and reached an average lifespan even longer than that of the Americans, the Japanese and the Britons. Obviously, of foremost importance has been the cause in the aspect of the social system. But was this the complete and only cause? No. Causes in the aspect of nature must also be explored. In its report published on 6 January this year, "Exploring the Secrets of Longevity," the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY made a study of this question. A joint medical study team conducted a survey of 53 old persons 90 years or older in age amidst the Maya tribe in Brazil discovered the secrets of longevity to be: serene environment and fresh air, controlled food intake centered on a vegetarian diet, constant physical labor, optimism, openness, and refraining from anger in the face of irritating events. The team also discovered that the older generation relatives of half of these old persons also held a longevity record. This illustrates that longevity may also have to do with heredity. Natural laws and factors in the aspect of natural sciences are all worthy of our daring exploration; such a general orientation of our research in exploring demography not only from theories but also from practice is correct. We can fully expect that as we emancipate our thinking and seek truth from facts under the guidance of Marxism, our demography is bound to come later but rise higher in achieving even more gratifying advancement!

1. In 'Das Kapital,' Marx also discussed the impact of nature on population development. Citing one example, he said: "Why did (ancient) Egypt have such a large population?" The natural conditions of the country such as fertile soil, good climate and fresh air constituted also one of the important factors.

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